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THE POETIC ART OF ALDHELM

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THE POETIC ART OF ALDHELM

ANDY ORCHARD

*Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge
University Lecturer in the Department of
Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic*



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For Clare,
who was there
from the start

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Preface

Aldhelm was the first of a line of Anglo-Saxons, including some of the most celebrated, who chose to compose Latin verse. Nor were his efforts faltering or undistinguished. As innovations and experiments in Latin poetic technique Aldhelm's verses are unrivalled in Anglo-Saxon England, and indeed such was his influence on later authors that Aldhelm can be described fairly as the father of Anglo-Latin verse.

In assessing the nature of Aldhelm's knowledge and use of the verse of earlier authors and in highlighting those areas in which the idiosyncrasies of his poetic technique are most pronounced, this book seeks always to consider Aldhelm's poetic art in its Anglo-Saxon context, by comparison with the poetic practices and influences of his Anglo-Latin successors and his vernacular peers. For the poetic art of Aldhelm is a typically Anglo-Saxon blend of the new Latin learning and the traditional techniques of the pagan past; there is a bridge between Anglo-Latin and vernacular Old English verse, and on that bridge (as William of Malmesbury told us) Aldhelm is singing.

Like Aldhelm, I have had the benefit of learning and advice from many scholars, students and friends. Malcolm Godden and Michael Reeve proved genial and stimulating examiners of the Cambridge doctoral dissertation from which this book ultimately derives. Neil Wright was ever generous with his time and expertise in the specialized field of source-hunting which he has made his own, and Michael Lapidge gave wise and clear guidance throughout, in his changing roles of supervisor, colleague and editor. To these four go my chief thanks. An earlier version of Chapter 5 and the associated Appendix 5.2 appeared in the *Journal of Medieval Latin*, and I am grateful to the editor, Michael Herren, for permission to reproduce some of the material here. Others have been most helpful also, occasionally

Preface

unwittingly, and I should wish to thank for their various kindnesses Peter Clemoes, David Dumville, Patrick Sims-Williams, Eric Stanley, Simon Buck, Doreen Simpson and Lucinda Platt. A further debt is owed to the various institutions who have stimulated and supported me through the writing and rewriting: Queens' College, Cambridge, St John's College, Oxford, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Short titles and abbreviations

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica</i> , ed. Drevés and Blume
AL	<i>Anthologia Latina</i> , ed. Riese
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. Krapp and Dobbie
BGDSL	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</i>
BC-LL	<i>Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature</i> , ed. Lapidge and Sharpe
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CdV	Aldhelm, <i>Carmen de virginitate</i>
CE	Aldhelm, <i>Carmina ecclesiastica</i>
CLA	Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i>
CMCS	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
CR	Aldhelm, <i>Carmen rhythmicum</i>
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DM	Aldhelm, <i>De metris</i>
DPR	Aldhelm, <i>De pedum regulis</i>
E	Aldhelm, <i>Enigmata</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Ep	Aldhelm, <i>Epistolae</i>
Epistolae	<i>S. Bonifacii et Lulli Epistolae</i> , ed. Tangl
GP	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta pontificum</i> , ed. Hamilton
GR	<i>Germanic Review</i>
Handschriften	<i>Handschriften antiker Autoren</i> , ed. Manitius
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications

List of short titles and abbreviations

HE	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors
ICL	<i>Initia Carminum Latinorum</i> , ed. Schaller and Könsgen
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i> , ed. de Rossi
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KGL	<i>Grammatici Latini</i> , ed. Keil
MÆ	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct. antiq.	Auctores Antiquissimi
Epist.	Epistulae Carolini Aevi
PLAC	Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
NA	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
Opera	<i>Aldhelmi Opera</i> , ed. Ehwald
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PdV	Aldhelm, <i>Prose De virginitate</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne
PLM	<i>Poetae Latini Minores</i> , ed. Baehrens
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
Poetic Works	<i>Aldhelm: the Poetic Works</i> , trans. Lapidge and Rosier
Prose Works	<i>Aldhelm: the Prose Works</i> , trans. Lapidge and Herren
PRIA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SettSpol	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> (Spoleto)
SM	<i>Studi Medievali</i> , 3rd ser.
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
Trial Version	<i>Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: a Trial Version</i> , ed. Szarmach, Hill and Biggs
VBOH	<i>Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica</i> , ed. Plummer
ZDA	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum</i>

Sigla of scholars cited

Many of the parallels of poetic diction between Aldhelm's works and those of other poets which I cite below have already been noted by others elsewhere. In such cases I have used the following sigla to identify such parallels, whether published in books and articles apparent from the bibliography, or unpublished, and kindly brought to my attention in person:

B	Birt	M	Manitius
C	Campbell	S	Strecker
D	Dümmler	U	Bulst
E	Ehwald	W	Wright
G	Glorie	Y	Weymann
I	Wieland	Z	Waszink
L	Lapidge		

1

Aldhelm's life and verse

Aldhelm has been described as 'the first English man of letters'.¹ He was born at a time when Wessex had been converted to Christianity for perhaps less than a decade, and died a bishop in a newly created diocese spreading westwards into areas still inhabited by Britons. Preceding by a generation the Northumbrian Bede, Aldhelm could rival the learning of the younger man in most areas, and in some, notably verse, surpass him. Aldhelm stood sponsor when King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–705) was baptized, and dedicated works to both Aldfrith and Cuthburg, his sometime queen, herself the sister of King Ine of Wessex (c. 688–c. 726). Aldhelm was at the centre of the political and ecclesiastical life of his day, and appears to have formed personal ties with both Theodore of Canterbury and his opponent Wilfrid of Hexham, the *enfant terrible* of the early English church. He lived long – perhaps seventy years – but the duration of his literary legacy was longer still, and his works were still being read, studied and remembered into the tenth century. The influence of Aldhelm's prose style on later Anglo-Latin is profound and unsurpassed, while in the field of verse his influence is still more extensive, and it would be fair to say that almost every Anglo-Latin poet owes Aldhelm some debt. And there are traces of his influence in the vernacular literature too.

Since he wrote at the very beginning of recorded English history and yet maintained an active influence almost to the time of the Conquest, Aldhelm is perhaps the most important figure in the history of Anglo-Latin, indeed of Anglo-Saxon, literature. Some have balked at the difficulty of his Latin prose, and criticized what Plummer most famously (and unfairly) described as his 'puerile pomposity',² but no such objection can be raised against his

¹ *Poetic Works*, p. 1.

² *VBOH* I, liv.

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verse, and Bede's description of Aldhelm (*HE* V.18) as *sermone nitidus* ('sparkling in style') best fits him as a poet. He was not merely the first but the finest of the Anglo-Latin poets, and here above all we may regret with his twelfth-century biographer William of Malmesbury (c. 1090–1143) that 'semper infra meritum iacuit, semper, desidia civium agente, in-honoris latuit'.³

LIFE AND EDUCATION

William was not the earliest author working at Malmesbury to write a biography of Aldhelm; that distinction goes to one Faricius of Arezzo, who was at Malmesbury c. 1080–1100.⁴ His is a pedestrian account, superseded by the fuller and more famous biography of William, who in the prologue criticizes the work of his predecessor.⁵ Modern scholars have in turn criticized William's own account, although in some cases, as we shall see, subsequent work has vindicated his version, and have preferred instead the rather sparse evidence offered by more closely contemporary authors, most notably Bede, whose account (*HE* V.18) is the prime early witness for Aldhelm's activities. After describing the death of Hæddi, bishop of the West Saxons, Bede continues:⁶

Quo defuncto, episcopatus prouinciae illius in duas parrochias diuisus est. Vna data Daniheli, quam usque hodie regit; altera Aldhelmo, cui annis quattuor strenuissime praefuit; ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis et in scientia scripturarum

³ *GP* V.Prol. (p. 330): 'He has always been esteemed less than he ought, and always, because of people's indolence, lain hidden and uncelebrated.'

⁴ Faricius's *Vita Aldhelmi* in *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Giles, pp. 354–82.

⁵ William's life of Aldhelm constitutes *GP* V (pp. 330–443).

⁶ 'On his death the bishopric of that region was divided into two dioceses. One was given to Daniel, which he governs to this day, the other to Aldhelm, who ruled it for four years most vigorously; both were men adequately learned both in church matters and in knowledge of the scriptures. When Aldhelm was still a priest and abbot of the monastery which is called Malmesbury, he wrote, at the command of a synod of his people, an outstanding book against the error of the Britons in not celebrating Easter at the proper time, and in doing several other things contrary to the purity and peace of the church. He led many of the Britons who were subject to the West Saxons, by their reading the book, to adopt the Catholic celebration of the Lord's Easter. He also wrote a notable book on virginity, which, in imitation of Sedulius, he composed as a twin work in hexameter verses and in prose. Likewise he wrote several other works, being a man most learned in every respect: for he was both sparkling in style and, as I have said, wonderfully well-versed as much in literary as in ecclesiastical works.'

Aldhelm's life and verse

sufficienter instructi. Denique Aldhelm, cum adhuc esset presbyter et abbas monasterii, quod Maildubi Vrbem nuncupant, scripsit iubente synodo suae gentis librum egregium aduersus errorem Brettonum, quo uel pascha non suo tempore celebrant, uel alia perplura ecclesiasticae castitati et paci contraria gerunt; multosque eorum qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Bretones, ad catholicam dominici paschae celebrationem huius lectione perduxit. Scripsit et de uirginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere, et uersibus exametris, et prosa composuit. Scripsit et alia nonnulla, utpote uir undecumque doctissimus; nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus.

While Michael Lapidge has pointed out a number of inconsistencies in Bede's account, and while one might wince at Bede's description of Aldhelm as merely *sufficienter instructus* ('adequately learned'), his report must be broadly accurate, since among the sources of information whom Bede names in his *Historia ecclesiastica* were Bishop Daniel himself, and Pecthelm, later bishop at Whithorn, who by Bede's own account spent much time with Aldhelm while still a deacon and monk.⁷

Hæddi died in 705 or perhaps 706, and Aldhelm's own death is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 709. These dates constitute the only fixed points in Aldhelm's life; William of Malmesbury's assertion that Aldhelm was no less than seventy when he died is based on uncertain information, as William himself acknowledges.⁸ We know nothing of the place of Aldhelm's birth, although Wessex seems likely, and Wareham has been suggested.⁹ The story that Aldhelm was the son of one Kenten (= Centwine?), an otherwise unknown brother of King Ine, is found in the accounts of both Faricius and William, and this family tie, though unverifiable, might help to explain his close links with the royal houses of both Wessex and Northumbria, which were related by marriage.¹⁰

From Aldhelm's own letters we deduce that he attended the celebrated

⁷ On Daniel and Pecthelm, see *VBOH* II, 307–8 and 343; Whitelock, 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends', pp. 30–1.

⁸ Cf. *GP* V. 188 and 230 (pp. 332 and 385); fuller details of Aldhelm's life are to be found in *Prose Works*, pp. 5–10 and *Poetic Works*, pp. 5–9.

⁹ H. M. Porter, 'Saint Aldhelm and Wareham', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 30 (1975), 142–5.

¹⁰ Faricius, ed. Giles, p. 122; *GP* V. 188 (pp. 332–3). Cf. *Poetic Works*, pp. 6 and 234, n. 12 and Lapidge, '“Beowulf”, Aldhelm, the “Liber Monstrorum” and Wessex', pp. 154–5. On Centwine, see *VBOH* II, 221; H. M. Porter, 'Centwine', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 29 (1968), 40–2.

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school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury for perhaps two years, most probably at some time between 670 and 675.¹¹ If William is correct about Aldhelm's advanced age when he died, he would have studied at Canterbury when he was about thirty years old, and when his basic education was already complete, and this is indeed the implication of another of Aldhelm's letters.¹² William himself described Aldhelm's early education as having taken place at Malmesbury under the tutelage of a certain learned Irishman called Maïldub; this notion had come to be accepted as a scholarly commonplace until quite recently, when Michael Winterbottom demonstrated the great differences between Aldhelm's prose style and that of his Hiberno-Latin contemporaries, and Lapidge and Herren, stressing the folly of relying so heavily on William's unsubstantiated account, pointed out the lack of evidence for Irish influence on Aldhelm's works.¹³ But Aldhelm's links with a number of Irish scholars and his dire warnings about Irish culture and scholarship are well attested in his correspondence, and Malmesbury was an Irish foundation.¹⁴ Moreover while Irish influence on Aldhelm's prose style is hard to demonstrate, it is clear (as we shall see) that Aldhelm relied heavily on Hiberno-Latin models in his rhythmical verse. Most important, there is a plain statement in a letter by an unknown and unnamed Irishman (*Scottus ignoti nominis*) in which he salutes Aldhelm 'quia tu Romae advena fuisti, insuper quod a quodam sancto viro de nostro genere nutritus es',¹⁵ and this direct comment has been misunderstood by recent scholars.¹⁶ This letter is preserved in a mid-ninth-century manuscript of high authority, and one which contains much genuine Aldhelmian correspondence together with the only extant text of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*; it demonstrates, therefore, that the tradition of Aldhelm's tutelage under Irish instruction is both early and reliable.¹⁷ I see no reason

¹¹ Cf. *Prose Works*, pp. 138–9; Cook, 'Aldhelm's Rude Infancy', p. 118.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 116–18.

¹³ Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style', pp. 46–62; *Prose Works*, pp. 6–7.

¹⁴ *VBOH* II, 310–11.

¹⁵ *Ep* vi.494: 'Because you have been a visitor in Rome and above all because you were nourished by a certain holy man from our nation.'

¹⁶ Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 146–7, interprets the crucial words *Scottus ignoti nominis* as an editorial addition by Ehwald, but they are quite clearly visible in the sole manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 751 (Mainz, s. ix^{med}); cf. the facsimile edition by Unterkircher, *Sancti Bonifatii Epistolae*, p. 25.

¹⁷ On the authority of this manuscript, see further below, pp. 19–20.

not to reinstate William's story of Aldhelm's early education under an Irish scholar; we need not quibble over the name.¹⁸

But perhaps the most famous part of William's account is that in which he describes Aldhelm's proficiency in Old English vernacular poetry,¹⁹ and how he combined native and Christian elements in his verse to delight his audience at a time when in Northumbria an illiterate cowherd called Cædmon was attempting something similar, according to Bede.²⁰ Cædmon's rather turgid nine-line hymn survives, while Aldhelm's efforts, it seems, have not.²¹ The lack of extant Old English verse attributable to Aldhelm is a matter for profound regret, since (William tells us) no less a critic than King Alfred believed Aldhelm to be the finest vernacular poet whose works he knew, and Alfred, if we are to believe Asser, was no mean judge of vernacular verse.²² Modern scholars have again been cautious about attributing to Aldhelm any such ability in Old English verse, although Michael Lapidge, in a pioneering article, took a number of tentative steps towards establishing the possibility of vernacular influence on Aldhelm's verse.²³ Lapidge's lead is followed below, and the links established between Aldhelm's poetic techniques and those of Old English verse suggest that William's account may again not be far from the mark.²⁴

Aldhelm did, however, leave a considerable body of Latin works, which survive in a large number of manuscripts. Detailed descriptions of these writings are available elsewhere; it remains to give a brief description of the more important of his works, to offer some notion of the scope and scale of Aldhelm's literary estate.²⁵

¹⁸ On Máildub, see further *Prose Works*, pp. 181–2 and n. 8; *VBOH* II, 310–11; Browne, *St Aldhelm*, pp. 72–6; Ó Cróinín, 'The Irish Provenance', pp. 242–4; Herren, 'Classical and Secular Learning', p. 143, n. 13; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 109.

¹⁹ *GP* V.190 (p. 336). For a detailed discussion of the passage in question, see further Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry*, pp. 120–7.

²⁰ Bede's account of Cædmon occurs in *HE* IV.24; cf. Wrenn, 'The Poetry of Cædmon', pp. 284–8; Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry*, pp. 106–20; Clemoes, *Interactions* (forthcoming).

²¹ *Cædmon's Hymn* is in *Three Northumbrian Poems*, ed. A. H. Smith, rev. ed. (Exeter, 1978), pp. 38–41; *ASPR* VI, 105–9.

²² *GP* V.190 (p. 336).

²³ Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', esp. pp. 223–31.

²⁴ See below, pp. 119–25.

²⁵ For more details of Aldhelm's writings, see *Prose Works*, pp. 11–19 and *Poetic Works*, pp. 10–18.

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EXTANT WORKS

The extant works of Aldhelm have been edited in a comprehensive edition by Ehwald, and may conveniently be analysed in the order printed there, without prejudice to the question of date. Ehwald called the collection of occasional poems written by Aldhelm to commemorate the dedication of a number of churches the *Carmina ecclesiastica* (CE); no extant manuscript contains all these verses, and they were evidently written at various times and circulated separately.²⁶ After the *Carmina ecclesiastica*, Ehwald prints the large composite work now known as the *Epistola ad Acircium*, evidently compiled for, and addressed to, King Aldfrith of Northumbria.²⁷ The work is made up of a number of separate items, loosely connected. After a short preface Aldhelm enters into a lengthy discussion of the number seven, and its significance in sacred literature. This is followed by a short metrical treatise on the Latin hexameter, the *De metris* (DM), which is in turn followed by a collection of one hundred verse *Enigmata* (E), ostensibly inserted to illustrate the principles of the hexameter outlined in the *De metris*.²⁸ Immediately following the *Enigmata* is a second more detailed and practical metrical treatise known as the *De pedum regulis* (DPR), which simply provides lists of words to suit specified metrical feet.²⁹ The *Epistola ad Acircium* closes with a brief *Allocutio excusativa* in the course of which Aldhelm compares himself to Vergil.³⁰ Both the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and the *Epistola ad Acircium* demonstrate Aldhelm's intense interest in verse, and this concern reveals itself throughout the rest of his work. Aldhelm's later fame rests chiefly on a composite treatise on virginity usually entitled *De virginitate*, the *opus geminatum* ('twinned work') in both prose and verse mentioned by Bede.³¹ The prose *De virginitate* (PdV) is a lengthy study of some sixty chapters addressed to Abbess Hildelith and others of her nuns in a monastery at Barking in Essex; the verse *Carmen de virginitate* (CdV) is a later work, comprising 2904 hexameter verses on the same theme, but including a number of significant differences of style and substance, as we

²⁶ *Opera*, pp. 1–32; *Poetic Works*, pp. 10 and 35–58.

²⁷ *Opera*, pp. 33–204; *Prose Works*, pp. 12–13 and 31–46.

²⁸ *Opera*, pp. 75–149; *Poetic Works*, pp. 70–94 and 183–211.

²⁹ *Opera*, pp. 150–201; *Poetic Works*, pp. 212–19.

³⁰ *Opera*, pp. 201–4; *Prose Works*, pp. 45–7.

³¹ Cf. Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *opus geminatum* from Aldhelm to Alcuin', pp. 220–1.

shall see.³² The prose *De virginitate* and the *Carmen de virginitate* appear from the extant manuscript evidence to have circulated quite separately; that Aldhelm decided to add a verse version to his already completed prose work provides further testimony to Aldhelm's interest in poetry. A portion of Aldhelm's correspondence survives, edited by Ehwald as thirteen separate *Epistolae* (*Ep*), of which three are addressed to him and the remainder are his own work. These letters provide a fascinating insight into Aldhelm's world, and underline the importance of his position. Several concern leading figures in the Anglo-Saxon church, notably two letters to Leuthere, bishop of the West Saxons (670–6), and Hadrian of Canterbury (*d.* 710), in which details of Aldhelm's education at Canterbury are revealed.³³ The prominence of metrical studies in his discussion of the curriculum surely reflects Aldhelm's interests accurately. Aldhelm's leading political role is again underlined by the letter on the Easter question to King Geraint of the Britons to which Bede gave such prominence, and by a further letter of advice to the abbots of Wilfrid, in both of which letters Aldhelm actively involves himself in contemporary controversies.³⁴ Less exalted matters of ecclesiastical business are also addressed in letters to one Sigegyth and a certain Wynberht, whose links with Aldhelm assume greater importance if he is identified with Boniface's teacher of the same name.³⁵ Other letters stress Aldhelm's educational interests, and he is seen in correspondence both with Irish scholars and concerning Irish matters, offering advice to present and prospective students, and being sent verses for correction.³⁶ The last work of Aldhelm printed by Ehwald is an octosyllabic poem, the so-called *Carmen rhythmicum* (*CR*), only recently rehabilitated into the corpus of Aldhelm's genuine works.³⁷ Michael Lapidge gives further details of a number of doubtful,

³² See below, pp. 8–16. The prose *De virginitate* is in *Opera*, pp. 213–323; the *Carmen de virginitate* in *Opera*, pp. 327–471. For further discussion and translation of each, see *Prose Works*, pp. 51–132 and *Poetic Works*, pp. 97–167.

³³ The letters in question are *Ep* i and *Ep* ii, *Opera*, pp. 475–8; *Prose Works*, pp. 137–9 and 152–4.

³⁴ *Ep* iv and *Ep* xii, *Opera*, pp. 480–6 and 500–2; *Prose Works*, pp. 140–3, 150–1, 155–60 and 168–70.

³⁵ Cf. *Prose Works*, p. 151.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 139–40 and 143–9.

³⁷ *Opera*, pp. 523–8; *Prose Works*, pp. 16–18; *Poetic Works*, pp. 171–9.

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lost and spurious works by Aldhelm which need not be discussed here; a number are dealt with below.³⁸

STYLE

Throughout Aldhelm's extant corpus his deep love of poetry is readily apparent, and it is important to note that a number of those features and adornments which apparently mar Aldhelm's Latin prose style – for those who prefer the less artificial Latin of (say) Bede – are clearly derived from verse. A number of these features, such as rhyme, alliteration and the use of verse vocabulary and cadence are discussed below. The same striving after verse effects in prose is seen in Gildas, an author whose Latinity is similar to that of Aldhelm in a number of respects.³⁹ But while Aldhelm sought to adorn his prose with poetic style, there is a great disparity in substance.

To illustrate the great differences in approach and style which distinguish Aldhelm's Latin prose and verse I have selected two versions of the same story from his prose *De virginitate* and *Carmen de virginitate*. I have deliberately chosen a rather bland piece of narrative, in order to illustrate those common features of Aldhelm's style which are not driven by content, and have tried to pick a tale the details of which are, by the gory standards of the martyr's passion, commonplace, in order to assess the way in which Aldhelm integrates a particular episode into the larger structure of his work.

Thecla and Eulalia: the prose version

In the prose *De virginitate* the story of Thecla and Eulalia (Aldhelm's direct source for which is unknown)⁴⁰ is told as follows:

Necnon etiam gloriosas illustrium puellarum personas Teclae et Eulaliae ad formam virginalis materiae congruentes praeterire incommodum duxi. Quarum Tecla, devota Christi virguncula, cum desponsata primo pubesceret aevo et castis pudicitiae moribus nondum lavacri baptisterio renata adolesceret, audita egregii dogmatistae doctrina de integritatis dono disserentis nec maternis coacta blandimentis nec proci compulsa precibus ad tori contubernia et nuptiale triclinium inclinatur. Quae ante theatrales spectaculi clatros cruentis carnificum manibus

³⁸ *Poetic Works*, pp. 15–18.

³⁹ Cf. Wright, 'Gildas's Prose Style and its Origins', pp. 112–15.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Prose Works*, p. 178.

allata, ut pudicitiae praemio privaretur, enixe nitentibus indisrupta tamen castitatis crepundia et pretiosam virginitatis stolam inter severos leonum rugitus et feroces ursinae rapacitatis rictus Christo patrociniū praestante inviolabilem conservavit; sed et crepitantes inormium rogorum torres et semiustas pyrarum faculas caelestis clementiae fontibus restinctas incolomis ac sospes feliciter evasit. Eulalia vero duplici praedita triumpho et gemino ornata tropaeo cursum consummatura et fidem servatura caelesti inscribitur albo. Nam post rumigerulae virginitatis gloriam, qua carnalis cloacae spurcitas exhorruit et nuptialis copulae contubernia sprexit, ad gloriosam martirii palmam feliciter pervenit.⁴¹

The main features of Aldhelm's prose style have been exhaustively examined and explained by Winterbottom, and need not be rehearsed fully here.⁴² But even from this short account several characteristics are clear. There is a number of superficial ornamental devices, of which alliteration is the most apparent.⁴³ This alliteration often underlines implicit syntactical links between words, for example *puellarum personas*, *dogmatistae doctrina*, *castitatis crepundia*, *caelestis clementiae* and *carnalis cloacae*, but is also used to provide longer alliterative strings where there is no such syntactical connection between the words concerned, for example *proci compulsa precibus*, *clatros cruentis carnificum* and *pudicitiae praemio privaretur*. A similarly aural effect is provided by Aldhelm's fairly frequent recourse to

⁴¹ *PdV* 299.18–300.14: 'Moreover I have also thought it disadvantageous to pass over the glorious personages of the celebrated young women Thecla and Eulalia, which are relevant to the matter of the virginal theme. Of these Thecla, a devout young virgin of Christ, when she was betrothed in the first flush of youth and in the ways of chaste modesty of adolescence was not yet reborn in the bathing of baptism, after hearing the doctrine of the excellent teacher expounding on the gift of purity, was not to be swayed to the sharing of a bed nor to the wedding-feast, whether urged by a mother's coaxing or pressed by a suitor's prayers. She was carried before the circus cages of the arena by the cruel hands of butchers earnestly striving that she might be deprived of the prize of her purity, but with the token of her chastity unbroken and with Christ providing patronage she saved unstained the precious mantle of virginity amongst the savage roars of lions and the fierce maws of bearish greed; yet also blessedly she escaped unscathed and unharmed the crackling brands of mighty pyres and part-burnt cinders of funeral-piles quenched in the streams of heaven's mercy. And indeed Eulalia, endowed with double triumph and embellished with twin trophy, who was to end her course and keep her faith, is inscribed on heaven's scroll. For after the glory of her far-famed virginity, through which she shuddered at the carnal sewer's stains and scorned the company of the marriage bond, she blessedly attained the glorious martyr's palm.'

⁴² Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', pp. 39–46.

⁴³ On Aldhelm's alliteration, see further below, pp. 112–14.

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punning or *adnominatio*, for example *proci* . . . *precibus* and *triclinium inclinatur*.

It is also interesting to note that in this passage there seems a conscious effort on Aldhelm's part to avoid the sort of rhyming or *homoeoteleuton* ('identical ending') to which Latin accidentence naturally lends itself. So in every case where a noun and its associated adjective occur adjacently, they derive from different declensions (and therefore do not rhyme). We find the following: *illustrium puellarum*, *virginalis materiae*, *nuptiale triclinium*, *ursinae rapacitatis*, *inormium rogorum*, *caelestis clementiae*, *rumigerulae virginittatis*, *carnalis cloacae* and *nuptialis copulae*. The sole example where adjacent noun and adjective *are* from the same declension (*egregii dogmatistae*) only supports the integrity of the pattern, since here too there is no rhyme. This same feature has recently been remarked in the near-contemporary Hiberno-Latin *Hisperica famina*,⁴⁴ and one wonders whether the constraints of this curious self-imposed 'rule' might not account in part for the baroque vocabulary which characterizes the works of both Aldhelm and the faminator.

Another device which avoids *homoeoteleuton* in adjacent words is Aldhelm's reliance on unnatural word-order (*hyperbaton*), and in particular on the so-called envelope pattern in which nouns are divided from their relevant adjectives, and which can be illustrated amply in this passage.⁴⁵ The pattern is maintained even when no rhyme would result.⁴⁶ This fondness for *hyperbaton*, which François Kerlouégan has thought to be a particular feature of Celtic-Latin authors,⁴⁷ is again apparent in the prose style of Gildas, another author who laces his prose with aural and syntactical effects more commonly associated with verse, and who may have provided Aldhelm's model.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ I owe this observation on the *Hisperica famina* to Michael Herren.

⁴⁵ Cf. *gloriosas illustrium puellarum personas, devota Christi virguncula, primo pubesceret aevo, audita egregii dogmatistae doctrina, maternis coacta blandimentis, pretiosam virginittatis stolam, crepitantes inormium rogorum torres, semiustas pyrarum faculas, gemino ornata triumpho and gloriosam martirii palmam*.

⁴⁶ Cf. *castis pudicitiae moribus, theatrales spectacula clatros, cruentis carnificum manibus, severos leonum rugitus, feroces ursinae rapacitatis rictus and duplici praedita triumpho*.

⁴⁷ Kerlouégan, 'Une mode stylistique dans la prose latine des pays celtiques', esp. pp. 281–2; but see further Winterbottom, 'A Celtic Hyperbaton?', pp. 210–11 and Adams, 'A Type of Hyperbaton in Latin Prose', pp. 12–14.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Gildas: *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Chichester, 1978), pp. 8–9; Wright, 'Gildas's Prose Style', pp. 112–15.

One further formal patterning is observed: Aldhelm is extremely fond of doublets. We might note examples of strictly paired patterns of one, two, three and four words, in ascending order, as follows: *incolomis ac sospes*; *cursum consummatura et fidem servatura*; *duplici praedita triumpho et gemino ornata tropaeo*; *carnalis cloacae spurcitas exhorruit et nuptialis copulae contubernia spreuit*. So common is this basic pattern that Aldhelm occasionally uses variations of it where there is no exact correspondence of syntactical forms, for example *maternis coacta blandimentis nec proci compulsa precibus* and *tori contubernia et nuptiale triclinium* (where an adjectival form is varied by a noun in the genitive), or *severos leonum rugitus et feroces ursinae rapacitatis rictus* and *crepitantes inormium rogorum torres et semiustas pyrarum faculas* (where a single noun in the genitive is varied by an adjective-noun combination).

We shall see that many of the same devices were employed by Aldhelm in his verse also, but it should be pointed out that Aldhelm's poetic debt is evident even in his prose. Here, for example, Aldhelm employs a number of metrical phrases, usually hexameter cadences (suitable for the end of the verse), and occasionally matched either in his own verse or in that of authors he can be shown to have known. Amongst hexameter cadences employed here we might note in particular the ultimately Vergilian *cum . . . primo pubesceret aevo*,⁴⁹ as well as *ornata tropaeo*, *inscribitur albo* and other metrically derived phrases.⁵⁰

Amidst this rich display of rhetorical (and largely verse-derived) pyrotechnics, it is perhaps inevitable that the rather thin narrative content of the passage is all but submerged. The stories of Thecla and Eulalia are composed of a number of quite commonplace and scarcely specific details, and by his frequent use of stylistic devices Aldhelm makes it clear that his interest lies in the telling and not in the tale. Moreover, although the situations and details depicted here occur frequently throughout the prose *De virginitate*, there is scarcely any overlap of diction or phraseology between this story and the rest of the treatise whatsoever; Aldhelm makes no attempt to integrate Thecla and Eulalia into the larger structure of the work, which remains therefore basically episodic.

⁴⁹ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* III.491: *aequali . . . pubesceret aevo*, and Aldhelm's own adaptation in *CdV* 1929: *cum primo glesceret aevo*.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Christi virguncula* here with the cadence *virguncula Christi* found in *CdV* 1929.

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Thecla and Eulalia: the verse version

A quite different narrative technique is evident in Aldhelm's later verse retelling of the same tale. In his *Carmen de virginitate* Aldhelm narrates the story of Thecla and Eulalia as follows:

Virgo dicata Deo florebat tempore prisco, –	1975
Nomine hanc Teclam veteres dixere parentes –	
Quae conversa fuit sacrato dogmate Pauli	
Et Christum sequitur conubia pacta relinquens.	
Virginitatis amor flagrans in corde puellae	
Dulcia mundanae spreuit consortia vitae;	1980
In qua fundavit caelestis gratia mentem,	
Saecula quam penitus numquam mollire valebant,	
Durior ut ferro foret ad tormenta cruenta.	
Hanc pater et genitrix pactis sponsalibus ambo	
Ad stirpem generis satagebant dedere nuptis,	1985
Sed mens virgineis ardescens torrida flammis	
Gurgite mundano perfusa tepescere nescit,	
Quamvis verborum rorarent imbre parentes,	
Sicut nimborum stillabant aethera guttis.	
Propterea focus et flagrans accenditur ignis:	1990
Vulcanus late fervebat torribus atris,	
Ut virgo felix ferret tormenta rogorum	
Consumptura piam falso sine crimine carnem.	
Tali femineam sontes molimine spinam	
Excruciare student, membratim quatenus ossa,	1995
Si fieri posset, vacuarent cruda medullis;	
Sed Deus aeterna defendit ab arce puellam,	
Ut voti compos flammam evaderet ignis.	
Truditur ad rictus virgo laceranda leonum,	
Diris ut rodant muliebres morsibus artus;	2000
Bestia sed sacrum non audeat carpere corpus	
Defensante Deo devotae membra puellae,	
Dum tenerae carni non usquam sponte pepercit.	
Sic sator electis, cum mundi scammate certant,	
Aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni.	2005
Haec suprema suae decoravit tempora vitae	
Purpureo sanctam perfundens sanguine carnem,	
Martira perpetui dum scandit limina caeli.	
Eulalam prosae vulgatam laudibus olim	

Aldhelm's life and verse

Metrica nunc studeant venerari carmina sanctam, 2010
Quae mortale nihil vano dilexit amore
Nec quicquam in mundo satagit praeferre Tonanti,
Sed cunctas pariter pompas contempsit opimas,
Funditus ut spretis caeni squalentis adinstar
Diliciis gazae sequeretur libera Christum! 2015
Hinc thalami luxus et gaudia blanda tororum
Atque caducorum sortem dispexit honorum,
Quatenus in caelis castae virtutis amator
Arbiter omnipotens impendat praemia vitae,
Qui solet assiduis castos armare triumphis 2020
Militibusque suis portam reserare per aethram,
Dum vincunt sancti fallentis proelia mundi
Atque coronatis gestant vexilla manipulis.⁵¹

⁵¹ *CdV* 1975–2023: ‘In ancient time there flourished a virgin called to God (her aged parents called her Thecla by name), who was converted by the sacred teaching of Paul and, abandoning marriage contracts, followed Christ. The love of virginity burning in her girl’s heart spurned the sweet couplings of the worldly life, and heavenly grace so set the mind in her whom the world could never soften a jot, that she was harder than iron as to bloody pangs. Both her father and mother, after a betrothal had been settled, were keen to give her in marriage for the family’s line, but her ardent mind burning with virginity’s flames could not be assuaged and steeped in worldly streams, although her parents poured out a torrent of words, just as the skies drip stormy drops. And so the fire and burning flame was lit: Vulcan raged around with dark brands, so that the blessed virgin might endure the pyre’s pangs, which would consume her righteous flesh unstained by sin. Wicked men sought to torture her female spine with such exertion that each bleeding bone in turn might be emptied of marrow, if it were possible. But God from his eternal citadel defended the girl, so that preserving her vow she might escape the fire’s flames. The virgin was thrust to be torn towards lions’ maws, that with dreadful bites they might chew the womanly limbs; but no beast dared to take her holy body, although it would never have spared the tender flesh of its own accord, for God was protecting the limbs of the devout girl. Thus the Creator bestows the golden prizes of heaven’s kingdom to the elect, when they struggle in the world’s arena. She wreathed the final hours of her life drenching her holy flesh in scarlet blood, whilst she ascended, a martyr, to the gates of eternal heaven. Now let metrical verse strive to honour blessed Eulalia, once made known by prose’s praise. She cherished nothing mortal with an empty love, nor did she seek to prefer anything in the world to the Almighty, but she scorned equally all rich displays, so that with the delights of wealth utterly spurned like squalid filth she might freely follow Christ. Therefore she despised the luxuries of marriage and the seductive delights of the double-bed and the lottery of passing glories so that the lover in heaven of chaste virtue, the all-powerful judge, might bestow the prizes of life, he who ever arms the chaste with continual triumphs and opens the gate to heaven to his

The first notable difference between the prose and verse accounts is sheer length. The verse version (287 words) is nearly twice the length of the prose (153 words). Such a disparity is very common between the prose *De virginitate* and *Carmen de virginitate*, although the disparity is not always so great. A similar difference is found in syntax. Modern punctuation, imposed by editorial convention, is some guide here. Aldhelm's prose account comprises four sentences, the verse ten. Moreover, while Aldhelm in his prose is at pains to vary the length of the constituent parts of every sentence, his verses are practically all end-stopped, and, within the line, strictly divided into three main metrical units (to be discussed in detail below). The verse, then, by comparison with the prose, is composed in a continuous series of staccato phrases of fixed length, and relies for its impact on a number of ornamental features and narrative techniques.

Perhaps the main feature shared by both Aldhelm's prose and verse is alliteration.⁵² A slightly greater degree of punning, wordplay and *adnomination* is found in the verse than in the prose, for example *tormenta cruenta*, *tepscere nescit*, *carpere corpus* and *ferro foret*, although in both prose and verse there seems a conscious striving after aural effects. This is particularly apparent in the poetic account, where there is a metrical pause (*caesura*) after two-and-half feet in every single quoted verse, and eleven of the forty-nine cited lines (= 22.45%) are adorned by rhyme between the medial syllable preceding this main caesura (indicated by the symbol '|') and the final syllable of the line:⁵³

Virgo dicata Deo	florebat tempore prisco	1975
Dulcia mundanae	sprevit consortia vitae	1980
Sed mens virgineis	ardescens torrida flammis	1986
Sicut nimboris	stillabant aethera guttis	1989
Tali femineam	sontes molimine spinam	1994
Haec suprema suae	decoravit tempora vitae	2006
Martira perpetui	dum scandit limina caeli	2008
Atque caducorum	sortem dispexit honorum	2017
Qui solet assiduus	castos armare triumphis	2020

soldiers, when the saintly win the battles of this deceitful world and bear the banners in crowned companies.'

⁵² Cf. *dicata Deo*, *ferro foret*, *felix ferret*, *crimine carnem*, *laceranda leonum*, *muliebres morsibus*, *carpere corpus*, *defensante Deo devotae*, *sic sator*, *suprema suae*, *pariter pompas*, *caelis castae* and *impendat praemia*.

⁵³ See further below, pp. 94–6.

Dum vincunt sancti| fallentis proelia mundi 2022

Atque coronatis| gestant vexilla manipulis 2023

This reflects a degree of conscious patterning which is still more evident in the syntax of single verses. In twenty-three lines this main caesura is immediately followed by a finite verb or (in the case of verses which contain no finite verb) by a participle or other verbal form, and Aldhelm seems to stress the end of his account of Thecla by combining four such verses, as follows, where both main caesuras in each line are indicated, and the verb or verbal form appears in *italics*:⁵⁴

Aurea caelestis| *largitur*| praemia regni 2005

Haec suprema suae| *decoravit*| tempora vitae 2006

Purpureo sanctam| *perfundens*| sanguine carnem 2007

Martira perpetui| dum *scandit*| limina caeli 2008

The integrity of this group of lines is highlighted by the fact that the first three verses are of the golden line pattern, in which two adjectives are separated from their associated nouns by a medial verb, while the fourth verse is clearly modelled on the same pattern. A number of other verses in the quoted passage are also fashioned after the pattern of the golden line, the importance of which to Aldhelm is investigated in detail in a later chapter.⁵⁵ It will be clear that in his careful patterning and word-placement, Aldhelm is a skilled craftsman in verse.

With regard to metrical practices, Aldhelm has been described as 'a very tedious, dull, and monotonous poet'.⁵⁶ While such a statement scarcely does justice to Aldhelm's conscious striving for aural and rhythmical effects, often pointing up specific passages in his poetry or, as above, signalling the end of one episode and the beginning of the next, it is certainly true to say that Aldhelm's verse is formally far less varied than his prose. Some possible reasons for this rigidity are suggested in a later chapter; here it might be observed that while Aldhelm's prose style can be described as a triumph of form over content, his poetic style is the product of a much more even conflict. For Aldhelm, almost alone of Anglo-Latin poets, was possessed of a truly poetic imagination. So instead of the formal doublets which pepper the prose account, Aldhelm employs throughout his verse more subtle thematic parallels and contrasts. Here the *dulcia mundanae . . . consortia vitae* (line 1980), which Thecla spurns, are formally

⁵⁴ On Aldhelm's fondness for this pattern, see below, pp. 92–5.

⁵⁵ See below, pp. 96–7.

⁵⁶ Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 217.

matched by *aurea caelestis . . . praemia regni* (line 2005), while the *pompas opimas* (line 2013) which Eulalia rejects are matched by the *praemia vitae* (line 2019) granted by God. More complicated contrasts and patterns are observed in the sequences *mundanae . . . vitae caelestis gratiae saecula* (earth/ heaven/ earth: lines 1980–2) or *caducorum . . . honorum/ in caelis/ per aethram/ fallentis . . . mundi* (earth/ heaven/ heaven/ earth: lines 2017–22). In a similar way Thecla's hardness against the softness of the lax world contrasts sharply with the harsh treatment of her own soft flesh by the teeth of beasts (cf. *mollire/ durior/ diris . . . morsibus tenerae carni*, lines 1982–3 and 2000–3). No such formal parallels and contrasts are found in the prose account. There only heavenly streams quenching the torturer's pyre are mentioned, while the verse contrasts the victory of the heavenly flame of virginity over the worldly stream of her parents' words with the defeat of the worldly flame of the pyre by the heavenly streams of God. The whole verse passage is a tissue of such resonances, and has a richness which is not found in the prose.

Further differences are seen in the way the prose and verse versions combine the two stories of Thecla and Eulalia into a single episode. In the prose the connection between the two virgins is explicit from the start, and bolstered by the verbal echoes *feliciter evasit . . . feliciter pervenit*. In the verse there is a more careful patterning of the narrative details, where each maiden follows Christ (*Christum sequitur* (line 1978) and *sequeretur . . . Christum* (line 2015)), and the account of each closes with a description of their joy in heaven. Still more interesting is the way that in the prose Aldhelm makes no effort to integrate this episode into the rest of the prose *De virginitate*, while in the verse version, composed as it is in the repeated phraseology that is the hallmark of Aldhelm's hexameter verse, there are echoes of many other episodes in the *Carmen de virginitate*.⁵⁷ A mark of this is the conscious parallelism of Thecla's victory in the *mundi scammate* (line 2004) and Eulalia's in the *proelia mundi* (line 2022), since this surely reflects the common designation of Aldhelm's virgins as either *miles Christi* or *athleta Christi*, and therefore again integrates the episode into the larger structure of the work.

⁵⁷ On Aldhelm's fondness for repeated phraseology throughout his *Carmen de virginitate*, see below, pp. 102–12.

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Rhythmical verse

Perhaps a final observation might be made of the vigour of the language and intensity of detail in the verse as compared with the prose. Michael Lapidge has noted elsewhere the 'heightened . . . vocabulary' in Aldhelm's verse, and sees 'a perceptible shift in emphasis; *virginitas* in the poetic account becomes a much more aggressive virtue . . . the sense of aggression associated with virginity is matched by the vocabulary of filth and foulness associated with the flesh'.⁵⁸ That this more vigorous approach was perceived by Aldhelm to be the preserve of verse is perhaps indicated further by the same characteristic striving after aural effects and vivid tone in his *Carmen rhythmicum*; the following few lines will illustrate the power of Aldhelm's rhythmical verse also, even though the poet is somewhat aided here by his subject, a storm.⁵⁹

Tremebat tellus turbida	
Atque eruta robora	
Cadebant cum verticibus	
Simul ruptis radicibus.	
Neque guttae graciliter	45
Manabant, sed minaciter	
Mundi rotam rorantibus	
Umectabant cum imbris	
Cum praepollenti pluvia	
Essent referta flumina,	50
Turbo terram teretibus	
Grassabatur grandinibus,	
Quae catervatim caelitus	
Crebrantur nigris nubibus.	
Neque caelorum culmina	55
Carent nocturna nebula,	
Quorum pulchra planities	

⁵⁸ *Poetic Works*, p. 98.

⁵⁹ CR 41–60: 'The turbid earth trembled, and uprooted oaks crashed with crown and roots both shattered. Nor did the rain-drops trickle down, but drenched the earth's sphere with darkly dropping showers. And when the rivers were filled to flood by overwhelming rain, the storm assailed the earth with smooth hailstones, massing in torrents down from heaven in black clouds. Nor were the heights of heaven free from the clouds of night, and their bright smoothness shone like ice until they were harshly covered by the dimness and the grim clouds.'

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Perlucebat ut glacies,
Donec nimbo ac nubibus
Torve reguntur trucibus.

60

Here we see in almost every verse the same kind of insistent alliteration, punning, patterned syntax and rhyme that we have already found in Aldhelm's prose and metrical verse, coupled with a pronounced and repeated rhythm which, as we shall see, Aldhelm had inherited and made his own.

It will be clear that the composition and study of poetry played a central role in Aldhelm's life, and can be said to have coloured many of his works. In what follows I offer a survey of a number of important aspects of the poetic art of Aldhelm, in an attempt to evaluate his singular contribution to the Latin verse of Anglo-Saxon England. Some four thousand of his hexameter verses are still extant, together with just over two hundred of his rhythmical octosyllables. While the metrical hexameter was evidently Aldhelm's favoured form, it will be convenient to begin by considering the structure, sources and influence of Aldhelm's extant octosyllables, since such a study will provide in miniature a paradigm for the much larger discussion of the structure, sources and influence of Aldhelm's hexameters which follows.

2

Aldhelm and the Anglo-Latin octosyllable

Few Anglo-Latin octosyllables survive.¹ Only 212 such verses are attributable to Aldhelm, perhaps the first Englishman whose octosyllabic compositions remain; of these 200 are from the single (so-called) *Carmen rhythmicum*.² Moreover, only recently has it been demonstrated conclusively that the *Carmen rhythmicum* is indeed by Aldhelm, a conclusion firmly supported below.³ Several earlier scholars, including Ehwald and Traube, had doubted the subscription *finit carmen Aldhelmi* ('Aldhelm's poem ends here') found in the sole manuscript, Vienna 751, but Michael Lapidge has shown that their suspicions were 'founded on misunderstanding and ignorance'.⁴

Since this Vienna manuscript seems to have been copied from materials collected by Lul, successor to St Boniface as archbishop of Mainz (754–86), and himself a former pupil of the school at Malmesbury, we may take the attribution to Aldhelm on the highest authority.⁵ Indeed, in a letter to one Dealwine, preserved in the same Vienna manuscript and dated by Tangl to 745 x 746, Lul writes from the Continent requesting certain items to be sent from England; in particular he asks Dealwine 'ut mihi Aldhelmi

¹ No complete survey of the Anglo-Latin octosyllable has been made; see the following works by M. Lapidge: 'Some Remnants', pp. 817–19; 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 218; 'A Debate Poem on Divorce', pp. 8–13; 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 46–7; *Poetic Works*, pp. 173–6 and 259–62.

² The *Carmen rhythmicum* is in *Opera*, pp. 523–8; two further octosyllabic poems most probably by Aldhelm are likewise in *Opera*, pp. 235 and 512.

³ *Prose Works*, pp. 16–18.

⁴ *Poetic Works*, p. 172. Cf. Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, pp. 130–5; Bradley, 'On Some Poems Attributed to Aldhelm', pp. 291–2; *Opera*, pp. 520–2; Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 100 and 188–9.

⁵ See Unterkircher, *Sancti Bonifacii Epistolae*, p. 25.

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episcopi aliqua opuscula seu prosarum seu metrorum aut rithmicorum dirigere digneris ad consolationem peregrinationis meae'.⁶ In the same letter Lul addresses Dealwine as his former teacher (*iamdudum magistro*), so he too may well have been linked to the school at Malmesbury, where he would certainly have had access to the materials requested. Since Lul's own octosyllabic compositions, as we shall see, bear clear traces of the influence both of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* and other derivative pieces preserved in the same Vienna manuscript, we can perhaps assume that Dealwine successfully complied with his student's request.

Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* remains a tantalizing work.⁷ Two hundred octosyllabic verses are addressed through wordplay, as Bradley first noted, to one Helmgils, who has so far eluded identification.⁸ The poem describes Aldhelm's own journey through Cornwall eastwards to Devon, a mighty storm that buffeted an unidentified local church somewhere on the coast of south-west England, and the end of that storm (attributed to divine intervention) on 29 June of an unknown year. The main characteristics of the verse-form may conveniently be demonstrated in the following passage already quoted (lines 53–60), describing the fearful storm:

Quae catervatim caelitus Crebrantur nigris nubibus. Neque caelorum culmina Carent nocturna nebula, Quorum pulchra planities Perlucebat ut glacies, Donec nimbo ac nubibus Torve teguntur trucibus.	55 60
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All the verses here are regularly octosyllabic, linked in pairs by end-rhyme, and with no clear metrical structure. If, however, we take account of the natural stress of the words in each verse, the following patterns emerge (where 'X' represents an unstressed, and '/' a stressed syllable):

⁶ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 144–5 (no. 71): 'That you deign to send me some works of Bishop Aldhelm, either in prose or metre or rhythmical verse to soothe my stay abroad.'

⁷ *Poetic Works*, pp. 172–3.

⁸ 'On Some Poems Ascribed to Aldhelm', pp. 291–2; Lapidge suggests that Aldhelm's intended addressee may have been Hæmgils, abbot of Glastonbury (678–c. 704): *Prose Works*, p. 186, n. 23.

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X / X / X / X X	line 53
X / X / X / X X	line 54
/ X X / X / X X	line 55
/ X X / X / X X	line 56
/ X / X X / X X	line 57
/ X / X X / X X	line 58
/ X / X X / X X	line 59
/ X X / X / X X	line 60

In the first three couplets the shared rhyme of each separate pair of verses is underpinned by a common rhythm, as often elsewhere in the poem. But the pattern is neither entirely consistent within verse-pairs (as in the fourth couplet), nor between consecutive couplets, except at the end of the line. Evidently Aldhelm is concerned principally with the single fixed stress on the antepenultimate syllable (also called proparoxytone, or, in the system of classification favoured by Norberg, pp).⁹ It will also be observed that alliteration plays a very prominent role in these octosyllabic verses, both within the verse (here all but line 58) and linking verse-pairs (lines 53–4, 54–5, 55–6 and 57–8). Such insistent alliteration is a frequent, if not absolutely regular, feature of all Anglo-Latin octosyllables, as we shall see. The main structural characteristics observed here, namely strictly octosyllabic verses rhymed in pairs with a single main stress on the proparoxytone, and featuring prominent alliteration, are found frequently in later Anglo-Latin verses written on what we may describe as the ‘Aldhelmian’ model.

ÆTHILWALD’S *CARMINA RHYTHMICA*

Four further octosyllabic poems immediately following Aldhelm’s *Carmen rhythmicum* in the Vienna manuscript have been attributed to his pupil Æthilwald.¹⁰ We know little of Æthilwald beyond what can be gleaned

⁹ See Norberg, *Introduction*, esp. pp. 5–6. Under Norberg’s system Aldhelm’s octosyllabic verse-form, with pairs of lines linked by rhyme and stressed on the proparoxytone, would be classified as 8pp + 8pp.

¹⁰ Ehwald (*Opera*, pp. 528–37) designates these as *Carmina rhythmica* II–V (referred to hereafter as Æth I–IV). See also Meyer, ‘Die Verskunst des Angelsachsen Æthilwalds’, pp. 328–30; Schulze, ‘Reimkonstruktionen im Offa-Preislied’, pp. 11–13. In fact only three further poems are indicated in the manuscript, but Ehwald (*Opera*, p. 534) has plausibly demonstrated that the second of these can be divided into two separate items.

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from two letters which passed between him and Aldhelm.¹¹ Ehwald's identification of Æthilwald with Æthilbald, king of the Mercians (716–57), is scarcely worth serious consideration; David Dumville's suggestion that Aldhelm's student be identified with a namesake who later became bishop of Lindisfarne (724–40), and who is the author of some oblique acrostic verses preserved in the Book of Cerne, is worthy of more careful attention, but is probably to be rejected on (admittedly rather thin) stylistic grounds.¹² Æthilwald's octosyllabic compositions add little to our knowledge of him, besides underlining his reverence for Aldhelm's teaching and influence. The attribution of all four poems in the Vienna manuscript rests primarily on four lines from the last poem (Ehwald's *Carmen rhythmicum* V, my Æth IV), which read:

Have, Hova altissime,
Olim sodes sanctissime,
Salutatus supplicibus
Æthilwaldi cum vocibus.¹³ (lines 5–8)

Æthilwald's correspondence with Aldhelm is more biographically revealing. One letter, from Aldhelm to Æthilwald, is preserved only by William of Malmesbury, while a further letter, this time sent by Æthilwald to his master, survives only in the same Vienna manuscript as the rhythmical verses. In the course of this last Æthilwald writes to Aldhelm (then still abbot) very much in the tones of the suppliant student, as follows:

Huic autem nostrae parvitatís epistolae trina cantati modulaminis carmina binis generibus digesta subdidimus, quorum primum dactilico heroici poematis exemplo ac pedestri, ut autumo, regula enucleate trutinatum et in LXX coaequantium versuum formulas, casu ita obtingente vel, ut verius dicam, supernae dispensationis nutu moderante, divisum; tertium quoque non pedum mensura elucubratum, sed octenis syllabis in uno quolibet versu compositis, una eademque littera comparis linearum tramitibus aptata cursim calamo caraxatum tibi, sagacissime sator, transmittens dicavi; medium vero meo tuoque clienti Wihtfrido de

¹¹ Ehwald's *Ep* vii, from Æthilwald to Aldhelm, is found in *Opera*, pp. 495–7, and trans. *Prose Works*, pp. 164–6; *Ep* xi, from Aldhelm to Æthilwald, is in *Opera*, pp. 499–500, and trans. *Prose Works*, p. 168.

¹² *Opera*, p. 522; D. N. Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-Examination of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne', *JTS* 23 (1972), 374–406, at 399, n. 1.

¹³ 'Greetings, most high Offa, most holy former colleague, addressed in the suppliant tones of Æthilwald.'

transmarini scilicet itineris peregrinatione simillimis itidem versuum et syllabarum lineis confectum repraesentans porrexi.¹⁴

Æthilwald goes on to commend these poems to his master for sorely needed correction. Although nothing survives of Æthilwald's attempts at hexameter composition, the second of the *Carmina rhythmica* edited by Ehwald (my Æth I) does indeed deal with just such a 'pilgrimage of sea-voyages' (*transmarini . . . itineris peregrinatione*) as is mentioned in this letter, and both Traube and Hahn consider that it is to be identified with the poem described here as Æthilwald's own.¹⁵ The poem certainly requires correction, since it is not only rambling and rather incoherent, but contains at least one grammatical howler, where the poet fails to maintain the concord of the accusative phrase *mundi molem* (Æth I. 14) and its distant referent (now inexplicably nominative!) *parum sistens stabiliter* (Æth I. 18). In the text of the letter the name of the traveller in question appears in the manuscript as *Wynfrido* for Traube's suggested *Wihthfrido* (as above), but the emendation is a happy one. For Wihthfrith, if (as seems most likely) he is the same person to whom Aldhelm himself writes warning of the moral and intellectual dangers of a proposed journey to Ireland, would be a most suitable recipient of verses extolling the virtues of those who travel abroad.¹⁶ As Æthilwald notes:

At vos, famosi viribus
Viri sudantes strennuis,
Trucem vicistis tropeo
Hostem belli aethereo,
Qui propinquos et patrias

¹⁴ *Ep* vii.496–7: 'Moreover, we have added to this letter from our lowly self three poems of poetic melody distinguished into two varieties: of which the first is plainly measured out in the dactylic hexameter of heroic verse and, I believe, according to metrical rule, and divided into the formulae of seventy equal verses, with the aid of luck, or (to speak more truthfully) with the guiding approval of divine dispensation; the third, written with swift pen and forged not by the measure of feet but with eight syllables placed in any one verse, and one and the same letter adapted to the paired paths of the lines, I have sent and dedicated to you, most wise master; the middle (poem), concerning the pilgrimage of sea-voyages, likewise composed of most similar lines of verses and syllables, I have sent without delay to my and your colleague, Wihthfrith'; cf. Herren's translation, *Prose Works*, p. 166.

¹⁵ Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lul*, pp. 178–83; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, p. 131.

¹⁶ Aldhelm's letter to Wihthfrith (*Ep* iii) is in *Opera*, pp. 479–80, and trans. *Prose Works*, pp. 139–40.

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Abspernantes peregrinas
Ignoti ruris cespites
Adistis cursu praepetes!¹⁷

The second of the rhythmical octosyllabic poems mentioned in Æthilwald's letter has been identified by Jaffé with the fourth of the *Carmina rhythmica* edited by Ehwald (his *Carmen rhythmicum* IV, my Æth III), since this poem is clearly dedicated to Aldhelm, who is mentioned both explicitly (*Althelmum*, Æth III.59), and in puns on his Anglo-Saxon name (*cassem priscum*, 'old helmet', OE *eald-helm*, Æth III.15; *cassis . . . prisci*, Æth III.51–2).¹⁸ Aldhelm himself seems to have made use of an identical pun on his own name; it is interesting to note that William of Malmesbury mentions that Aldhelm 'in epistola ad Withfridum (*sic*) aperte se priscam protectionis galeam dicit',¹⁹ since William's *Withfridum* is presumably the same Wihtfrith to whom Æthilwald was sending poems, and to whom Aldhelm sent a further letter (still extant) warning of the moral dangers of a proposed trip to Ireland.²⁰ Aldhelm's own use of the pun is rather more sophisticated than Æthilwald's, since he seems to be alluding to the *galea salutis* ('helmet of salvation') of the celebrated Pauline figure (Ephes. VI.17), as Ehwald has noted,²¹ and may himself have provided his student with the pun. It will also be remembered that Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* opens with a rather similar pun on the Anglo-Saxon name of its recipient (*casses . . . obses*, 'helmet . . . hostage', OE *helm-gisl* or (by metathesis) *Helmgils*).

Both of these extant octosyllabic poems by Æthilwald, apparently sent to Aldhelm for correction, certainly contain striking verbal reminiscences of Aldhelm's own *Carmen rhythmicum*, presumably in conscious imitation as a kind of literary homage. So, for example, we find in the verses sent to Wihtfrith the phrases *trini . . . famine* (Æth I.19, cf. CR 190: *trini Tonantis famina*), *undisonis fragoribus* (Æth I.50, cf. CR 143: *horrisonis fragoribus*), and *pulchra . . . planities* (Æth I52, cf. CR 57: *pulchra planities*), whilst the

¹⁷ Æth I.41–8: 'But you famous men, striving with mighty strength, have vanquished the vicious battle's enemy through the heavenly trophy, who spurn your friends and fatherlands to go to the foreign fields of an unknown land, precipitous in haste!'

¹⁸ *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 38–40; cf. *Opera*, p. 519.

¹⁹ 'In a [now-lost] letter to Wihtfrid openly calls himself an old helmet of protection', *GP* V.188 (p. 332).

²⁰ *Ep* iii, in *Opera*, pp. 479–80; cf. *Prose Works*, pp. 139–40.

²¹ *Opera*, p. 524, n. 1.

verses addressed to Aldhelm contain phrases such as *noctem nigram nubiculis* (Æth III.33, cf. CR 54: *nigris nubibus* and CR 56: *nocturna nebula*), *refragat atque vastitas* (Æth III.74, cf. CR 22: *turbabat atque vastitas*), and *maneant immortaliter* (Æth III.77, cf. CR 196: *manenti immortaliter*). That Æthilwald is borrower, not source, is quite clear from the context; several of these parallels share a rather grandiose turn of phrase more fitting to the loftier themes of the *Carmen rhythmicum*. So, for example, Æthilwald uses the term *vastitas* ('vastness') to refer to his own poem, Aldhelm to the very fabric of the world; in his poem Æthilwald expresses with some tautology the hope that there will remain some salvation *immortaliter* ('immortally') whilst Aldhelm uses the phrase *manenti immortaliter* ('remaining immortally') to refer to Christ. Neither of the other two octosyllabic poems in the Vienna manuscript now attributed to Æthilwald (Ehwald's *Carmina rhythmica* III and V, my Æth II and IV) contain any such Aldhelmian borrowings, but other aspects of shared style and diction indicate that they too can be ascribed to Æthilwald with some confidence.²²

Æthilwald's clear and conscious debt to Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* is of some help in establishing a date for the latter. Michael Lapidge has made the attractive surmise that 'the church [affected by the storm described in the *Carmen rhythmicum*] was in the diocese of western Wessex of which Aldhelm became bishop late in life (706–709/10), and that he may have been visiting it on pastoral business',²³ but the very fact that Æthilwald's letter introducing two octosyllabic compositions in some measure inspired by the *Carmen rhythmicum* is addressed to Abbot Aldhelm (*sacrosancto abbati Aldhelmo*) puts the composition of the latter before the period of Aldhelm's episcopate. From other evidence it has been concluded that 'Aldhelm will have been abbot – presumably at Malmesbury – by late 672 or 673 (or 674 at the latest)'.²⁴ Whilst we can be sure, however, from Æthilwald's letter and accompanying derivative verses that the *Carmen rhythmicum* was still read and imitated when Aldhelm was abbot, it is, of course, possible that these octosyllabic verses may have been composed several years before, indeed at any stage of Aldhelm's adult life. We must look elsewhere for

²² So, for example, we might compare the following parallel phrases: *girat thoracis humeros* (Æth I.28) and *forant thoracas humeris* (Æth II.30); *sane per saeculo* (Æth I.74) and *sane in saeculo* (Æth IV.55); *sic, sic, sane sanguinea* (Æth I.157) and *sic, sic, sane sublimibus* (Æth III.65); *sumum satorem, solia* (Æth II.1) and *summo satore sobolis* (Æth IV.21).

²³ *Poetic Works*, p. 173.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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indications of the earliest possible date by which the *Carmen rhythmicum* must have been composed.

THE *CARMEN RHYTHMICUM* AND METRICAL VERSE

Shortly before becoming abbot, Aldhelm seems to have acquired a training in the composition of Latin metrical verse, during a brief sojourn at the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury.²⁵ Certainly Aldhelm takes great pride in his knowledge of metrical terminology in a letter apparently addressed to Leuthere, bishop of the West Saxons (670–6), describing the curriculum at Canterbury, and decrying his own earlier ignorance of metrical verse techniques.²⁶ Bede likewise stresses the importance of the teaching of metrics at the school at Canterbury (*HE* IV.2). We know, moreover, from Æthilwald's letter to Aldhelm that metrical and rhythmical composition were carried out simultaneously, and that the style and diction of metrical verse could and did influence the composition of rhythmical octosyllables; Traube and Ehwald have demonstrated that a passage in Æthilwald's octosyllabic composition for Wihtfrith (*Æth* I.2–18), sent also to Aldhelm, borrows heavily from a parallel passage from the metrical *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius, an author Æthilwald actually cites (*Æth* I.12) as *doctiloquus Sedulius* ('clever-tongued Sedulius'), and a poem which proved a particularly favoured source for Aldhelm's own metrical diction.²⁷ Similar reliance on metrical verse, or more particularly evidence of knowledge of the principles of Latin scansion in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, would surely indicate a date of composition *after* Aldhelm's brief period of instruction at the Canterbury school.

Such evidence is not hard to find. Simple changes in the word-order of the *Carmen rhythmicum* will produce metrical phrases easily suited to the metrical hexameter verse-form, whilst only a small proportion of the vocabulary of the *Carmen rhythmicum* is impossible to reconcile with the fixed patterns of dactyls and spondees required by the hexameter metre. A

²⁵ Cf. Lapidge, *Prose Works*, pp. 7–8, and Wright, 'Appendix: Aldhelm's Prose Writings on Metrics', in *Poetic Works*, ed. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 181–219, at 183, where he notes that 'the study of Latin metrics was probably introduced in England by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian at Canterbury'.

²⁶ *Opera*, pp. 475–8; and trans. Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 152–3.

²⁷ Ehwald, in *Opera*, pp. 528–9 (quoting Traube). On the influence of Sedulius on Aldhelm's own verse, see below, pp. 163–6.

measure of this can be demonstrated in the number of what may be termed 'reverse cadences' in the *Carmen rhythmicum*, where the simple reversal of the last two metrical words in the rhythmical octosyllabic line will produce a formal cadence perfectly suited to the end of the metrical hexameter line. In his *Carmen rhythmicum* Aldhelm employs such reverse cadences very frequently. From the two hundred verses of the *Carmen rhythmicum*, I count no fewer than thirty such reverse cadences, in many of which the metrical effect has been pointed up by alliteration, as in the cadences of Aldhelm's own hexameters.²⁸ These thirty cadences represent a proportion of the octosyllabic verses of the *Carmen rhythmicum* (= 15%) unparalleled in comparable rhythmical poems. In the 278 verses of the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic poem known by its opening words as *Altus prosator* (AP) there are only six such reverse cadences (= 2.2%), and even in Æthilwald's 386 octosyllables, modelled on Aldhelm's, I note only twenty-seven examples (= 7%).²⁹ Aldhelm's marked predilection for such line-endings in the octosyllable strongly suggests that Aldhelm composed the *Carmen rhythmicum* at a time when he was fully aware of the principles of metrical scansion in the hexameter.

Moreover, several of these reverse cadences are to be found in Aldhelm's own extant hexameter corpus. Dümmmler pointed out that the phrase *machina mundi* (CR 17) is found in Aldhelm's metrical verse (E C.78; CdV 158), and Ehwald indicated that *culmina caeli* (CR 94) is similarly repeated (E C.3; CdV 2, 1445 and 2816); the phrases *numina Phoebi* (CR 63 and CdV 1371) and *clementia Christi* (CR 121 and CdV 2088) should also be added to the list. Many more of Aldhelm's octosyllables echo phrases found also in his hexameters, including *pulsatus precibus* (CR 3; cf. CE IV.xiii., CdV 31

²⁸ Line 14: *informia facta*; line 17: *machina mundi*; line 23: *foedere venti*; line 29: *spiramina statim*; line 30: *agmina ducunt*; line 31: *nomina sena*; line 37: *torrida Titan*; line 41: *turbida tellus*; line 62: *ordine rerum*; line 63: *numina Phoebi*; line 68: *surgere sidus*; line 70: *fuligine furva*; line 71: *pulcherrima plane*; line 80: *sidera solis*; line 81: *limpida lance*; line 91: *nigerrima nubes*; line 93: *fulmina flagrant*; line 94: *culmina caeli*; line 121: *clementia Christi*; line 122: *recentia facta*; line 131: *flamine fulcra*; line 146: *limina linquens*; line 161: *caligine caeca*; line 162: *imagine mortis*; line 164: *fragmina fusa*; line 165: *horrida noctis*; line 177: *a culmine crates*; line 179: *spiramina saevi*; line 182: *sollemnia sancti*; line 194: *a discrimine adempti*. The phrase *spiramina statim* is included here since, although it would not have been considered a perfect cadence by (for example) Vergil, Aldhelm would have recognized it as such by his own idiosyncratic prosody. See further below, pp. 75–9.

²⁹ *Altus prosator* is ed. C. Blume, AH LI, 275–83 (no. 216); see too BC-LL, no. 580 and ICL, no. 685.

and 2814); *bis sena nomina* (CR 31; cf. CE III.40 and IV.xiii.1); *Titan torrida* (CR 37; cf. CdV 1207); *tremebat tellus turbida* (CR 41; cf. CdV 2043); *umectabant . . . imbribus* (CR 48; cf. CE I.9 and II.9; CdV 1907); *catervatim caelitus* (CR 53; cf. CdV 2349 and 2901); *caelorum culmina* (CR 55; CdV 873, 1069 and 1667); *caligine . . . furva* (CR 69–70; cf. CdV 1687); *conscendunt per ethera* (CR 79; cf. E XVI.3); *flammam vomunt* (CR 96; cf. E LII.5); *cernebant lumina* (CR 141; cf. CE IV.vii.9, E LXXXI.5). Ehwald noted further thematic links between Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* and the third of his *Carmina ecclesiastica*, which celebrates a church of St Mary built by Bugga, particularly regarding a description of the division of the congregation into two parts to share the chanting of the antiphons and the responsories, as well as the concluding doxologies in both poems.³⁰ It is, unfortunately, impossible to ascertain the relative chronology of the *Carmen rhythmicum* to any of the poems with which it shares parallel diction. The cumulative effect of all these parallels, however, is to dispel any doubts as to Aldhelm's authorship of the *Carmen rhythmicum*, and to confirm the truth of the subscription in the Vienna manuscript.³¹

The demonstrable links between Aldhelm's methods of versification in his rhythmical and metrical works, quite apart from the dating implications already discussed, raise several interesting questions with regard to Aldhelm's own role in the development of the Anglo-Latin rhythmical octosyllabic form. In order to assess the extent to which Aldhelm's techniques of rhythmical (and, later, metrical) versification can be considered particularly innovative or idiosyncratic, we shall need to look in detail at the larger history of the octosyllabic verse-form, and its likely route of transmission to Anglo-Saxon England. In particular the development of those technical aspects of the form most associated with Aldhelm's own usage in the *Carmen rhythmicum*, namely a fixed proparoxytone stress, rhyme and (especially) alliteration, will need to be examined before turning to consider any possible sources and finally assessing the ways in which Aldhelm's pattern of octosyllabic composition was to prove as influential on later generations of Anglo-Latin poets as on his own students such as Æthilwald.

³⁰ *Opera*, p. 527.

³¹ See above, p. 19, n. 4.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RHYTHMICAL OCTOSYLLABLE

Much research has been carried out on the history of the development of the Latin octosyllabic verse-form, usually in connection with the larger question of the evolution of rhythmical verse composition from putative metrical models.³² All extant Anglo-Latin octosyllables of the Aldhelmian model can be demonstrated to derive ultimately from the quantitative iambic dimeter verse found in Classical and Late Latin poems in both stanzaic and continuous forms.³³ In the late fourth century, Ambrose composed a number of hymns in this metre, arranged in four-verse stanzas, whilst Prudentius prefaced the second book of his poetic attack on the pagan ideals of Symmachus with sixty-six verses of continuous iambic dimeters.³⁴ Differences in the lay-out of verses are evidently based on function and genre; stanzas are used for hymns intended to be sung, the continuous form for epistolary and commemorative poems to be read. The same distinction is mirrored in the (later) formal difference between Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic hymns and prayers, and Anglo-Latin continuous octosyllabic epistolary poems, almost all modelled on the Aldhelmian pattern.³⁵

The pre-eminence of the Aldhelmian octosyllable in later Anglo-Latin rhythmical composition was by no means a foregone conclusion. Other quite different models were available from the earliest period. There are a few short Anglo-Latin octosyllabic poems, all perhaps to be associated with the school of Theodore at Canterbury, which differ radically from the rest

³² See Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 87–135; Klopsch, *Einführung*, pp. 5–27. On the iambic dimeter, see Norberg, *ibid.*, pp. 106–11.

³³ See particularly Crusius, *Römische Metrik*, pp. 84, 99–100 and 149–50; Klopsch, *Einführung*, pp. 7–15, 39 and 93–6.

³⁴ On Ambrose, see Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, pp. 1–15; for Prudentius, see *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*, ed. J. Bergman, CSEL 61 (Vienna, 1926), esp. 244–6. For the use of the iambic dimeter by Prudentius, see J. L. Moreno, *La versificación de Prudencio* (Granada, 1978), pp. 21–38.

³⁵ Cf. Lapidge, 'A Debate Poem on Divorce', p. 12. Lapidge's suggestion (*Poetic Works*, p. 175), that 'Aldhelm was apparently the first poet to abandon completely the stanzaic structure of the Late Latin and Hiberno-Latin hymns, and to use octosyllables for the purposes of extended narrative', ignores the efforts of Prudentius in the poem noted above, an author (and a poem) which Aldhelm seems to have known (see below, pp. 171–8). An Insular exception to this strict demarkation of form and genre is Æthilwald's *Oratio ad Deum* (my Æth II).

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in form.³⁶ The most celebrated example was apparently composed by Theodore himself and addressed to Bishop Hæddi of Winchester (c. 676–705), Aldhelm's predecessor in the then undivided West Saxon see. The poem, found in a single manuscript of Theodore's *Iudicia*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320 (s. x/xi), runs as follows:

Te nunc, sancte speculator,
Verbi Dei digne dator,
Hæddi, pie praesul, precor,
Pontificum ditum decor:
Pro me tuo peregrino
Preces funde Theodoro.³⁷

The rhythm of these octosyllables is regularly *trochaic* (/ X / X / X / X), with the verse *ictus* ('beat') coincident with the natural stress of each word and falling on the first, third, fifth and seventh syllables of each line. We may take the slightly off-beat stressing of *pontificum* (line 4, properly *pontificum*) as poetic licence. The regular bisyllabic rhyme exhibited in all but the last couplet is noteworthy, as is the regular alliteration within all but the last verse. These octosyllables are superficially similar, but rhythmically quite distinct, from those of the Aldhelmian pattern. Discrepancies of bisyllabic rhyme and alliteration involving the final verse have led some to suggest that *Theodoro* is a substitute, masking the true author (another name such as *Florentino* would meet both objections), although the possibility need not detain us here.³⁸ Whether or not such verses are Theodore's, it is clear that this form of the octosyllable is (in rhythmical terms) considerably more ambitious than that adopted by Aldhelm, with but a single stress on the antepenultimate (sixth) syllable. Moreover, such a form cannot be descended from quantitative *iambic* measures at all, but may perhaps derive from choric metres, or even Greek, a possibility made more attractive by Theodore's own background.³⁹ Three other octosyllabic poems share this

³⁶ See Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 46–7.

³⁷ 'Holy bishop, worthy giver of the word of God, Hæddi, pious prelate, jewel of rich pontiffs, now I pray you: pour forth prayers for me, Theodore, your *peregrinus*.'

³⁸ See M. Deansley and P. Grosjean, 'The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St Augustine', *JEH* 10 (1959), 1–49, at 19–20. Other examples of this octosyllabic form, however, do not exhibit exclusively bisyllabic rhyme; see below, n. 40.

³⁹ Lapidge tentatively suggests Greek influence in 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 47, quoting W. Meyer, 'Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen

same regular trochaic pattern, beginning: 'Sancte sator suffragator', 'Christum peto, Christum preco', and 'Heli, Heli, Domine mi'; in so far as each is preserved in English manuscripts, we are probably justified in regarding this as a peculiarly Anglo-Latin form.⁴⁰ Given Aldhelm's attendance at the Canterbury school, and his often-repeated reverence for Theodore, his adoption of a different (and, later, dominant) form of rhythmical octosyllable is curious, and may well result, as we shall see, from an earlier acquaintance with Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic compositions which were rhythmically far simpler than Theodore's poem, and farther removed from their ultimately metrical models.

In the context of the apparent choice of form facing Anglo-Latin authors wishing to compose octosyllabic verse in the earliest period it is intriguing to note that a further octosyllabic composition, an eight-line Dedication to St Paul, has been attributed to Theodore's apparent addressee, Hæddi.⁴¹ The poem was preserved in a manuscript based on a collection of materials assembled sometime before c. 750 by Milred, bishop of Worcester (745–75).⁴² Archbishop Theodore, who consecrated Hæddi in London, apparently sent him the octosyllabic verses already noted, and Michael Lapidge, in attributing to Hæddi's own hand the dedication to St Paul, notes that both poems are 'written in the rhythmic octosyllables with bisyllabic rhyme (and copious alliteration) that were much favoured by Anglo-Saxon authors of the early eighth century'.⁴³ The Dedication to St Paul runs as follows:

In honorem almissimi
ac doctoris dulcissimi

rythmischen Dichtung', in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* II, 1–201, at pp. 51–62; see too Meyer's 'Lateinische Rythmik und byzantinische Strophik', in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* III, 98–118, at pp. 106–10. For the most recent suggestion, that the verse-form is a Latin version of Greek anacreontics, see Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries* (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ These octosyllables, largely, but not exclusively, featuring bisyllabic rhyme, are ptd by Blume, *AH* LI, 299–302 (nos. 229, 230 and 231); cf. *ICL*, nos. 14640, 2283 and 6189 respectively. See also Lapidge, 'A Debate Poem on Divorce', pp. 10–11. On the English origin of 'Sancte sator, suffragator', see Baesecke, *Das lateinisch-althochdeutsche Reimgebet*, pp. 12–13.

⁴¹ Most conveniently found in the edition by Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', pp. 817–18.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 798–801; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection', pp. 24–38. See further below, pp. 203–8.

⁴³ 'Some Remnants', p. 817.

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Sancti Pauli solenniter
ac vocati feliciter,
Hedde, pontifex petitus
ac cum amore accitus,
dedicavit deicola
atque clarus celicola.⁴⁴

However (*pace* Lapidge) this poem is clearly *not* composed in 'Theodoran' rhythm, but Aldhelmian, with only one main proparoxytone stress in the verse (Norberg's 8pp + 8pp). There are, moreover, compelling reasons to doubt the ascription of the Dedication to St Paul to Hæddi. The first turns on the use of the word *clarus* ('bright', 'clear', 'famous') in line 8, a strange epithet to be applied by the bishop to himself, but easily explicable in the mouth of an admirer. Again, the use of the third-person perfect *dedicavit* (line 7) may suggest that the dedicatory poem was written after the event, by a third party. The third cause for doubt is given by the term *caelicola* (line 8), which would most naturally apply to the dead. In the Classical sense of the word ('heaven-dweller') it is most often used to refer to pagan deities, and this appears to have led to some reluctance to employ the term by Christian writers. But several Christian Latin poets describe the blessed souls who live in Heaven as *caelicolae*, and in early Anglo-Latin hexameters the word is used in precisely this sense some five times by Aldhelm, and twice by Boniface.⁴⁵ The point is made most explicitly by Boniface, in one of his own octosyllabic compositions, the sixth line of which commends its addressee, 'shining with holy virtues . . . and after death a dweller in Heaven' (*sacris nitens uirtutibus . . . post et mortem caelicola*).⁴⁶ Several examples in verse further link the term with a description of the bright and shining quality of such souls, a factor which may add extra emphasis to the description of Hæddi as *clarus caelicola* ('bright dweller in Heaven') here. The idea that the poem is in some sense a memorial for Hæddi as well as a formal dedication is perhaps further supported by the extra levels of meaning which would be given to the two phrases *pontifex petitus/ ac cum amore accitus* ('a bishop sought and summoned with love') if Hæddi were himself dead, in which case the poem would accord with the many epitaphs

⁴⁴ 'In honour of the most kind and sweetest teacher, solemnly and blessedly called St Paul, Hæddi, a bishop sought and summoned with love, a worshipper of God and famous dweller in heaven, has dedicated . . .'

⁴⁵ Aldhelm: *CE* III. 16; *CdV* 140, 2092, 2743 and 2899; Boniface: *E* VIII.8 and XIII.59.

⁴⁶ *Ars grammatica*, ed. Gebauer and Löfstedt, p. 12.

of prominent English churchmen to be found in Milred's collection.⁴⁷ If we date these octosyllabic verses to the period *after* Hæddi's death in 705 (and therefore after the composition of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, which may well have provided a model),⁴⁸ they stand as a further example of the way in which the Aldhelmian pattern of octosyllabic composition was adapted early, in preference to more difficult forms in which the development from metrical to rhythmical composition is still more obscure.

The development from metrical to rhythmical verse-composition is complex, and it is uncertain when the distinctions between metre and rhythm became blurred. In the fourth century, Augustine already expressed uncertainty about the metrical length of some syllables,⁴⁹ and it is further unclear when the rhythm of verse finally came to be identified with the ordinary accentuation of words: Bede seems to have been the first to have done so.⁵⁰ A measure of the pace of development from purely metrical to purely rhythmical verse-composition can be seen in the growing distaste of authors of metrical iambic dimeters to end a line in a disyllable (which would spoil the rhythm), a phenomenon first highlighted by Norberg.⁵¹ So Horace (65–8 BC) employs disyllabic endings in nearly half of his lines, whilst in the poems of Ambrose (c. 340–97) and Prudentius (348–c. 410) the proportion falls to between a third and a quarter. In the celebrated fifth-century hymn 'A solis ortus cardine' by Caelius Sedulius, the proportion has further dropped to about one disyllabic ending every nine lines, whilst in the earliest Hiberno-Latin and

⁴⁷ In Lapidge's edition, 'Some Remnants', at least ten of the twenty-nine poems in the collection are epitaphs, including those of the following English ecclesiastics: an abbot Widsith (no. 12); Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury 692–731 (no. 17); Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury 731–4 (no. 19); bishops Torthere, Walhstod and Tyrhtil of Worcester (no. 21); Bugga, perhaps abbess of a double monastery at Withington (no. 24); a priest Balthunus (no. 26); and Bede (no. 29).

⁴⁸ So we find ambitious di- and trisyllabic rhymes of exactly the kind favoured by Aldhelm, a misplaced stress (similar to those in the *Carmen rhythmicum*) of *áccitus* (line 6), which should naturally be stressed on the penultimate syllable, and even perhaps an example of borrowed diction in the phrase *sancti Pauli solenniter* (line 3), which is matched by the phrase *Pauli sancti sollempnia* in a verse from the *Carmen rhythmicum* (line 182).

⁴⁹ *De musica* III.iii.5 (PL 32, 1118), quoted by Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 87, who further cites two works by M. Nicolau: 'Les deux sources de la versification latine actuelle', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (*Bulletin du Cange*) 9 (1935), 55–87, and *L'origine du cursus rythmique et les débuts de l'accent d'intensité en latin* (Paris, 1930).

⁵⁰ In his *De arte metrica*, ed. Kendall, pp. 138–9.

⁵¹ *Introduction*, p. 69.

Anglo-Latin rhythmical octosyllables that are the principal concern here there are only a handful of verses ending in disyllables in the whole corpus.⁵²

Coupled with this move towards polysyllabism in the final metrical feet of the iambic dimeter there is a marked decrease in the instance of metrical resolution in the first and third feet, whereby the permitted *spondee* (- -) is resolved as an anapaest (~ ~ -), effectively lengthening the line by one or two syllables, as Horace and Prudentius had done. The state of regular octosyllabic metrical iambic dimeters with polysyllabic endings can be seen by the sixth century, in the hymns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles, whilst in his *De arte metrica* Bede similarly stresses the isosyllabic quality of all rhythmical verse.⁵³ This regularization of the iambic dimeter as a strictly octosyllabic metre may well be related to its use for liturgical purposes; a lack of resolution (and a regular octosyllabic line) would facilitate the singing of one syllable to one note.⁵⁴

The next stage in the development from quantitative iambic dimeter to rhythmical octosyllable has been variously (and not entirely satisfactorily) explained by Brandes and Meyer.⁵⁵ But it was Ingeborg Schröbler who went the furthest in explaining the rhythmical regularity of the final cadence of the Insular Latin octosyllable, by the simple expedient of determining the stress-patterning to be observed in the putative metrical models, and comparing this with what is found in the rhythmical verses.⁵⁶ Schröbler found three basic rhythmical patterns in the quantitative verse, each falling progressively further from the rhythmical iambic norms postulated by Brandes, as follows:

⁵² A rare early exception is the Greek word *erga* in the opening line of the first stanza of the Hiberno-Latin hymn on St Comgill preserved in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, AH LI, 321-4 (no. 244). See too BC-LL, no. 575; ICL, no. 1358. Lines ending in disyllables are, however, relatively frequent in 'Theodoran' octosyllables (for obvious rhythmical reasons), and are found in the late octosyllables of Lantfred examined below, pp. 68-9.

⁵³ *De arte metrica*, ed. Kendall, p. 138.

⁵⁴ Halporn, Oswald, Rosenmeyer and Hanning, *The Metres of Greek and Latin Poetry*, p. 116.

⁵⁵ W. Brandes, *Des Auspicius von Toul rhythmische Epistel an Arbogastes von Trier* (Wolfenbüttel, 1905) and Brandes, 'Die Epistel des Auspicius und die Anfänge der lateinischen Rhythmik', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 64 (1909), 57-128; Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* III, 1-41.

⁵⁶ Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina Rhythmica', pp. 10-12.

- (a) X / X / X / X \
- (b) / X X / X / X \
- (c) / X / X X / X \

For an illustration of each pattern one might simply quote from the same passage from the *Carmen rhythmicum* employed earlier (CR 53–8), where each of the successive couplets demonstrates in turn patterns (a), (b) and (c):

- Quae catervatim caelitus (a)
- Crebrantur nigris nubibus (a)
- Neque caelorum culmina (b)
- Carent nocturna nebula (b)
- Quorum pulchra planities (c)
- Perlucebat ut glacies (c)

In each case, however, the proparoxytone stress so characteristic of Insular Latin octosyllables remains the only constant feature.

More recently Michael Herren has borrowed Schröbler's methods to demonstrate that verses of Schröbler's pattern (c) (his 'variant 2') became increasingly more frequent in the Insular Latin octosyllables, and the iambic origins of the form consequently more obscured.⁵⁷ Herren further suggests that it was the Irish who first adapted the iambic dimeter in this way, effectively creating the Insular Latin octosyllabic form, and he quotes a passage from the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin author Virgilius Maro Grammaticus which seems to indicate that the naturally four-stressed metrical iambic dimeter line had become transformed in Ireland into a three-stressed proparoxytone octosyllabic verse.⁵⁸ That quantitative iambic dimeter hymns were indeed in circulation in Ireland at an early date is confirmed from a number of sources; several are to be found in the collection known as the Antiphonary of Bangor, which can be dated on palaeographical grounds *c.* 700.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the same collection also contains a number of octosyllabic poems of the rhythmical form 8pp + 8pp, which is the immediate model for Aldhelm's own octosyllabic

⁵⁷ Herren, 'The Stress Systems', pp. 66–9. One might fairly quibble with many of Herren's figures, particularly since he does not seem to adopt a consistent policy regarding the rather vexed questions of the stressings of monosyllables, and of secondary stress in general. See Norberg, *L'accentuation*, pp. 29–53.

⁵⁸ Herren, 'The Stress Systems', pp. 75–8.

⁵⁹ The *Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F. E. Warren, 2 vols., HBS 4 and 10 (London, 1893–5), is traditionally dated 681 x 690; but see the salutary remarks of M. Lapidge, 'Columbanus and the Antiphonary of Bangor', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 104–116, at 104, n. 22. See too *BC-LL*, no. 532.

compositions.⁶⁰ It is tempting to associate this Irish misconstruction of the metrical iambic dimeter with the lack of evidence for the knowledge of metrical principles and of metrical composition in Ireland at this date. Scholarly attention has generally focused on a number of metrical verses previously assigned to Columbanus of Bobbio (*d.* 615), but it seems highly unlikely that this traditional ascription is sound.⁶¹ Aldhelm himself seems to make a direct and unfavourable comparison between contemporary Hiberno-Latin rhythmical doggerel and his own metrical hexameters at the end of a letter to his student Heahfrith, recently returned from an Irish school (*Ep* v).⁶² It seems likely, in default of further evidence, that at this date the Irish were simply unable to scan Latin verse.

A particular problem of Herren's close analytic method is highlighted by the apparent indifference of all Insular Latin octosyllabic poets to the subtle variations in verse-stress which Herren is seeking to categorize. Verses which contravene the hypothetically mandatory proparoxytone stress are rather frequent, and can only be explained by the notion that these Insular authors shared a less rigorous conception of the form than do modern scholars. Aberrant verses, which have penultimate syllables which are metrically long (and are therefore paroxytone), are found not only in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, but also in all of the octosyllabic poems attributed to Æthilwald. There are eight such paroxytone verses in the *Carmen rhythmicum* (= 4%), seventeen (= 9.24%) in Æthilwald's 'Nuper dein labentibus' (Æth I), one (= 2.17%) in 'Summum satorem subolem' (Æth II), six (= 7.69%) in 'Aethereus qui omnia' (Æth III), and four (= 5.13%) in 'Vale vale fidissime' (Æth IV); a similar proportion of aberrant verses is found in Hiberno-Latin octosyllables also: some twelve (= 4.3%) of the verses in *Altus prosator* exhibit this form.⁶³

⁶⁰ For an example of iambic dimeters in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, see the verses beginning 'Ignis creator igneus', *AH* LI, 296–7.

⁶¹ See Lapidge, 'The Authorship of the Adonic Verses *Ad Fidolium* attributed to Columbanus', pp. 251–3 and Herren, 'A Ninth-Century Poem for St Gall's Feast Day and the "Ad Sethum" of Columbanus', pp. 515–20 (taking the opposite view).

⁶² The letter is in *Opera*, pp. 486–94, and trans. Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 160–4. See especially the note by Herren, *ibid.*, p. 202, n. 37.

⁶³ My figures will be observed to differ slightly from those given by Herren, 'The Stress Systems', p. 78. I have analysed the whole of *Altus prosator* (Herren's figures refer to the first two hundred lines), and have broken down Æthilwald's figures by poem. Herren rather inconsistently introduces special pleading for the conformity of the verse ending *vetustus* (*AP* I. 1), 'The Stress Systems', pp. 70–1, but apparently regards Aldhelm's verse

The notion that it was the Irish who adapted this simple octosyllabic form in Latin is particularly intriguing in view of contemporary developments in vernacular verse. Calvert Watkins has investigated the antiquity of a certain Indo-European verse-form found in Greek, Vedic, Slavic and Irish vernaculars, and notes in the structure of this verse-form (amongst other characteristics) 'a tendency towards isosyllabism, with the number of syllables fixed at seven or eight [and] a free *initial*, with no observable pattern of stress, together with a fixed pattern of stresses in the *cadence*'.⁶⁴ In Irish this vernacular verse-form is exhibited in the heptasyllabic line found in the earliest texts, entirely compatible with the seventh-century date suggested for the Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic poem *Altus prosator*, which formed the basis of Herren's study. The Latin rhythmical verses with which Aldhelm concludes his own letter to Heahfrith on the subject of Irish learning are also heptasyllabic, and of the same form. Some of the most celebrated and widely known vernacular Irish verses from the period are composed in this metre, including the *Amra Choluim Chille* by Dallán Forgaill, apparently written soon after 594.⁶⁵ And the fixed cadence observed in all these heptasyllabic poems is the same proparoxytone rhythm (/ X X). To suggest that in the seventh century Hiberno-Latin poets were influenced at the purely technical level by their vernacular counterparts is to reverse exactly the direction of influence perceived by Thurneysen and Murphy, both of whom adhered to the view that early Irish verse derived from classical models.⁶⁶ Nor have Watkins's theories passed unchallenged. Carney has proved the most sceptical, rejecting the antiquity of all syllable-counting metres, which he describes as an 'upper-class aberration'.⁶⁷ But when evidence is reviewed with regard to other structural features of the Insular Latin rhythmical octosyllable, the notion of vernacular influence becomes increasingly attractive.

ending *tempestas* (CR 21) as aberrant, despite the evidence of the variable scansion of vowels followed by *-st* in Aldhelm's metrical verse (cf. *Opera*, p. 755).

⁶⁴ C. Watkins, 'Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse', *Celtica* 6 (1963), 194–249, at 218.

⁶⁵ 'The Bodleian Amra Choluim Chille', ed. and trans. W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899), 30–55, 132–88, 248–89 and 400–37; and 21 (1900) 133–6; V. Hull, 'Amra Choluim Chille', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 28 (1960–1), 242–51.

⁶⁶ R. Thurneysen, 'Zur irischen Accent- und Verslehre', *Revue Celtique* 6 (1883–5), 309–47; G. Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1961), especially pp. 6–17.

⁶⁷ Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', p. 53.

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Elision and hiatus

One central structural difference between the Late Latin quantitative hymns and their later rhythmical Insular Latin counterparts is the occasional use in the former of elision, the slurring (or perhaps suppression) of final vowels, diphthongs and syllables comprising a vowel plus *-m* before following initial vowels, diphthongs and, sometimes, syllables comprising *b* plus a vowel.⁶⁸ Elision is scarcely a common feature in the Late Latin iambic dimeter hymns, and indeed in verses by Ambrose and Ennodius elision occurs in roughly one line in twenty. Sedulius's hymn 'A solis ortus cardine' has only a single example of elision in its ninety-two verses, and also exhibits hiatus in one verse,⁶⁹ whilst in three hymns attributed to Hilary of Poitiers Meyer counts twenty-six elisions against fifteen examples of hiatus.⁷⁰

In Insular octosyllables, however, elision is exceedingly rare, and may be entirely absent.⁷¹ Hiatus is rife. This situation is hard to parallel in other rhythmical Latin verse, where as time went on elision and hiatus were equally assiduously avoided.⁷² That Insular authors were fully aware of the practice of elision is amply testified in metrical verse by every Anglo-Latin poet that ever wrote; Aldhelm gives the concept some prominence in his *De metris*, and I count 160 examples of elision in his extant hexameter corpus. In rhythmical verse by Celtic-Latin authors we have Bieler's evidence of elision in the *Hymn of St Secundinus* and that of Bischoff in the *Oratio Gildae*.⁷³ Hiatus, however, is entirely commonplace in Insular Latin

⁶⁸ See Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 32–7; Herren, 'The Stress System', pp. 79–80.

⁶⁹ Elision occurs at *unda originem* (line 52), hiatus at *enixa est* (line 17). A further example of elision is found in the edition of J. Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 1885), *creatorque omnium* (line 28), but this rests on editorial emendation, unsupported by any manuscripts, is unrequired by the text (though it certainly makes for a smoother reading), and seems best ignored.

⁷⁰ *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* III, 155–6; cf. Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 33.

⁷¹ Exceptions are found in the poem ed. Lapidge, 'A Debate Poem on Divorce', p. 23. A rather different view of the poem, retaining hiatus, and accepting irregularity in verse-length is given by P. Dronke, '"Ad Deum meum convertere volo"', and Early Irish Evidence for Lyrical Dialogues', *CMCS* 12 (1986), 23–32.

⁷² Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 32–3.

⁷³ L. Bieler, 'The Hymn of St Secundinus', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 55C (1953), 117–27, at 123; B. Bischoff, 'Das Reisegebet des Gildas (Spätes siebentes Jahrhundert?)', in his *Anecdota Novissima: Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 154–61, at 157. Cf. M. W. Herren, *The Hisperica Famina II:*

octosyllables. Here again Aldhelm takes up a slightly idiosyncratic position, being relatively more cautious about the employment of hiatus than other Insular authors. I count sixty-eight examples of syllables in hiatus in the 278 verses of the Hiberno-Latin *Altus prosator* (= 24.46%) and ninety-four examples from the combined 386 verses of Æthilwald's octosyllables (= 24.35%), but there are only twenty-five examples of syllables in hiatus in the 200 verses of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* (= 12.5%), a figure roughly half that of comparable authors. Aldhelm's aversion to hiatus in his octosyllables may be related to his practice in his metrical verse, where hiatus, though occasionally tolerated, is generally avoided.⁷⁴

The same propensity towards hiatus is rather rare in earlier Latin verse. Only the curious rhythmical verses of Auspicius, bishop of Toul, addressed c. 475 to Arbogast, count of Trier, and modelled, like most Insular Latin octosyllables, on the structure of the iambic dimeter contain a barely comparable number of syllables in hiatus; I count thirty-three such syllables in 164 verses (= 20.12%).⁷⁵ But there is no evidence that the poem ever had any popularity with Insular authors. We should perhaps look elsewhere for other possible avenues of influence.

With regard to vernacular Irish verse, Kuno Meyer has noted that 'in the oldest poetry elision (*bádud*) was but rarely practised; and it cannot be said to have been obligatory at any time during the Old and Early-Middle Irish periods . . . verses in which hiatus occurs are to be found in almost every poem'.⁷⁶ We can perhaps regard the frequent hiatus in the Insular Latin octosyllables as an Irish innovation, perhaps influenced by vernacular models.

Rhyme

Whilst all Insular Latin octosyllables share to a greater or lesser extent a tendency towards hiatus, far greater differences between Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin rhythmical octosyllables can be perceived in the use of

Related Poems (Toronto, 1987), p. 59, and my "'Audite Omnes Amantes": a Hymn in Patrick's Praise', p. 154. See too *BC-LL*, nos. 573 and 1225.

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 83–4.

⁷⁵ The poem is ed. Strecker, *MGH, PLAC* 4.2, pp. 614–17. See too Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 106–9.

⁷⁶ *A Primer of Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1909), p. 11.

rhyme. Once again, however, the Insular Latin verses differ greatly from the Late Latin hymns, where no regular rhyme-scheme whatsoever is to be observed, although the exigencies of syntax occasionally produce identical endings (*homoeoteleuton*) in successive lines. This chance ornamental device in Late Latin seems to have been developed as a conscious structural feature in some Hiberno-Latin poems. Fortuitous monosyllabic rhymes are relatively frequent in the 'A solis ortus cardine' of Sedulius, an author clearly popular in seventh-century Ireland, and this hymn may have sparked off the subsequent rash of rhymes in Hiberno-Latin octosyllables, given the added impetus of full rhyme in contemporary vernacular verse.⁷⁷ Irregular monosyllabic rhyme is likewise found in the popular Ambrosian hymn 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' by Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–?609), but none of these earlier examples has rhyme so frequently or so regularly as the earliest Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic compositions, and indeed Meyer believed that rhyme (and alliteration) were specifically Hiberno-Latin innovations.⁷⁸ In the abecedarian poem on St Comgill 'Audite pantes ta erga' preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor, regular monosyllabic end-rhyme is generally shared by all eight lines in each stanza. Certain licences are permitted, and we find imperfect rhymes on, for example *-os/-us* (stanzas 4 and 7) and *-ael-e* (an eye-rhyme, stanzas 6, 11, 15 and 23).⁷⁹ The rhyme-scheme of *Altus prosator* is even more complicated: end-rhyme is regular, generally monosyllabic and confined to individual couplets; occasional bisyllabic rhymes, or rhyme-sequences of more than a single couplet seem purely incidental. Imperfect rhymes on *-ael-e*, *-es/-is*, *-os/-us* are found infrequently (there are isolated examples in stanzas 3, 4, 8, 16 and 18), whilst a single imperfect correspondence of *-ā/-ā* may confirm that the Irish at this date possessed no notion of the principles of Latin prosody.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ See Wright, 'The *Hisperica Famina* and Caelius Sedulius', p. 74, and W. Meyer, 'Rhythmische Paraphrase des Sedulius von einem Iren', *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Classe (1917), pp. 594–6. The importance of Sedulius in introducing rhyme is stressed by Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 38.

⁷⁸ The hymn is in *Early Latin Hymns*, ed. Walpole, pp. 173–7; see too Meyer, 'Die Verskunst der Iren in rhythmischen lateinischen Gedichten', *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* III, 303–46, at 323–8.

⁷⁹ It is likely that *-am* and *-um* are intended to rhyme in stanza 14, although it is possible that the first couplet demonstrates a different rhyme-scheme to the rest of the stanza: the first four lines of stanza 18 rhyme on *-os*, the last four on *-a*.

⁸⁰ Stanza 21, lines 7–8: 'Cadent in terram sidera/ Ut fructus de fulcinea'.

Aldhelm and the Anglo-Latin octosyllable

Table 1. *The distribution of end-rhymes in some Anglo-Latin octosyllables*

Poem	Number of syllables participating in end-rhyme					Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
CR	40	44	15	—	1	100	1.78
Æth I	42	45	5	—	—	92	1.60
Æth II	5	12	6	—	—	23	2.04
Æth III	9	22	8	—	—	39	1.97
Æth IV	9	23	7	—	—	39	1.95

Anglo-Latin octosyllables demonstrate a still more complicated rhyme-scheme. The majority of couplets exhibit disyllabic rhyme, although trisyllabic rhyme is by no means infrequent; Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* even has an example of pentasyllabic rhyme in the couplet 'Pelluntur parietibus/ Flabrorum arietibus' (lines 173–4). Details of the rhyme-scheme of the octosyllables of Aldhelm and Æthilwald are given in Table 1.

Imperfect rhyme is infrequent in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, where there is only one instance of an *-ael/-e* eye-rhyme (lines 147–8), but rather common in the poems of Æthilwald, where rhymes on *-is/-us*, *-us/-os*, *-es/-us*, *-ael/-e* and even (apparently) *-ens/-is* are found.⁸¹ Still more interesting in the light of Aldhelm's known metrical knowledge are the rhymes on *-ǣ/-ā* (as in Hiberno-Latin); I count nine examples in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* alone, compared with only two examples in the combined 386 verses of Æthilwald's four poems.⁸²

The introduction and regularization of rhyme in Insular Latin octosyllables may again reflect contemporary developments in vernacular verse. Murphy notes the introduction of rhyme into vernacular Irish verse in the course of the seventh century, derived (as he believed) from monosyllabic end-rhyme in some Latin models.⁸³ But the Latin models cited are scarcely

⁸¹ Æth I.5–6, 11–12, 27–8, 39–40, 41–2, 49–50, 115–16, 137–8 and 175–6; Æth II.29–30, 35–6 and 37–8; Æth IV.27–8.

⁸² CR 17–18, 49–50, 55–6, 77–8, 99–100, 109–10, 163–4, 175–6 and 191–2; Æth I.69–70; Æth III.75–6.

⁸³ *Early Irish Metrics*, pp. 13–18.

comparable with the vernacular verses in either the consistency or purity of the rhyme-scheme, and seem generally unconvincing. Travis, by contrast, takes rhyme to be a native ornament, and rightly points out its use in an already sophisticated and fully developed form in the earliest Irish verse.⁸⁴ Carney has noted monosyllabic full-stressed rhyme in some accentual poems which seem to owe little to Latin models, and which he dates to the mid-sixth century.⁸⁵ We might consider, for example, the rhythmical poem 'Sét no tíag', attributed to Colum Chille (c. 522–97), where monosyllabic end-rhyme links verses into couplets.⁸⁶ Elsewhere whole stanzas are linked by repeated and predominantly monosyllabic end-rhyme, a feature found also in other early Celtic verses, such as those of the *Gododdin*.⁸⁷ There are admittedly great difficulties with dating almost all the vernacular Celtic texts of this earliest period; but the insistently uniform and unequivocal nature of the evidence compared with the rather insipid putative Latin models makes it plausible that in an Insular context (as Oscar Wilde put it) 'rhyme, the basis of modern poetry, is entirely of Irish invention'.⁸⁸ Polysyllabic end-rhyme, moreover, as in the Anglo-Latin octosyllable, is found sporadically in some of the vernacular verses of Colmán mac Lénéni (c. 530–c. 606) and in some of the Latin verses cited by Virgilius Maro Grammaticus.⁸⁹ This blend of influences is well illustrated by some further verses from the Antiphonary of Bangor, such as the hymn beginning 'Benchuir bona regula', in which Irish words are combined with Latin, and we find regular rhyme (generally bisyllabic) in alternate lines; as often elsewhere (for example in the *Gododdin*) all the verses in the poem end with the same letter.⁹⁰ Few better parallels for the polysyllabic end-rhyme (and frequent alliteration) endemic in the Anglo-Latin octosyllables of the Aldhelmian model are known at this early date.

⁸⁴ Travis, *Early Celtic Verse*, pp. 88–95.

⁸⁵ In 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', ed. Carney, pp. 27–8; cf. Carney, 'The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts', *Éigse* 19 (1982–3), 177–216.

⁸⁶ 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', pp. 27–8.

⁸⁷ *Canu Aneirin*, ed. I. Williams (Cardiff, 1978); see esp. pp. lxxiii–lxxvi for his notes on rhyme (Welsh odl).

⁸⁸ Quoted by R. Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (Harmondsworth, 1987), p. 186.

⁸⁹ See Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, pp. 15–16; on Colmán, see R. Thurneysen, 'Colmán mac Lénéni und Senchán Torpeist', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 19 (1933), 193–209; Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', pp. 63–5.

⁹⁰ The poem is in AH III, 356–7 (no. 260).

Alliteration

When we turn to consider the larger question of alliteration in the Anglo-Latin octosyllable, we are faced immediately with problems of definition. Alliteration is such a constant and visible feature of Old English (and Early Irish) verse that the extensive occurrence of alliteration in Anglo- (or Hiberno-) Latin inevitably leads to the question of vernacular influence, although that issue has seldom been addressed in any rigorous or objective way.⁹¹ We need to move beyond empirical comparison, and to ascertain methods of measuring not merely the quantity but also the variety of alliteration to be found in Insular Latin octosyllables, and to compare the results with the wide variety of alliteration in contemporary vernacular poetry.

The study of Latin alliteration is not new. Such a study (and the term itself) effectively began with Pontano in the fifteenth century, and Cordier has comprehensively analysed the development of investigative techniques up to 1939.⁹² Important phases of this development are represented by the works of Kvíčala and Wölfflin, who stressed both the ubiquitous nature of alliteration in Latin poetry, particularly in the *Aeneid*, and its function in underlining syntactical and literary effects.⁹³ Such a preamble is necessary

⁹¹ See Meyer, 'Die Verskunst des Angelsachsen Æthilwalds', pp. 328–30; J. D. A. Ogilvy, 'Alcuin's Alliteration and Old English Verse', *MLN* 46 (1931), 44–5; Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina rhythmica', pp. 12–35; R. Dérolez, 'Anglo-Saxon Literature: "Attic" or "Asiatic"? Old English Poetry and its Latin Background', *English Studies Today*, 2nd ser. (1961), 93–105; W. F. Bolton, *Alcuin and Beowulf. An Eighth-Century View* (London, 1979), pp. 57–63; also the more general remarks in Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 51–2 and Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 218–23. On cross-fertilization of alliterative patterns affecting other Insular vernacular literature, see T. Gwynn Jones, 'Alliteration: Welsh and Scandinavian', *Aberystwyth Studies* 13 (1934), 1–10; J. Travis, 'The Relations between Early Celtic and Early Germanic Alliteration', *Germanic Review* 17 (1942), 99–104; and Travis, 'Intralinear Rhyme and Consonance in Early Celtic and Early Germanic Poetry', *Germanic Review* 18 (1943), 136–46; J. de Vries 'Les rapports des poésies scaldique et gaëlique', *Ogam* 9 (1957), 13–26; Travis, *Early Celtic Versecraft*, pp. 86–8.

⁹² Cordier, *L'allitération latine*, p. 1; more recent studies on specifically Germanic Alliteration include A. Kabell, *Metrische Studien I: Der Alliterationsvers* (Munich, 1978), esp. pp. 7–21; J. B. Kuhnelt, *Untersuchungen zum germanischen Stabreimvers*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 209 (Göppingen, 1978), esp. 62–73.

⁹³ J. Kvíčala, *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aenëis* (Prague, 1881), pp. 293–447; E. Wölfflin, 'Über die alliterierenden Verbindungen der lateinischen Sprache', *Sitzungs-*

to refute those who, like Karl Lachmann, have doubted the presence of alliteration in Classical Latin in any significant degree.⁹⁴ Peck quotes briefly from Ennius, Accius, Plautus, Lucretius, Vergil and Cicero in rebuttal, and successive studies have stressed the importance of alliteration in the works of (amongst others) Cicero, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucretius, Caesar, Tacitus, Ennius and (most frequently) Vergil.⁹⁵

Wölfflin and, later, Peck demonstrated that Latin alliteration did not originate in verse, but could be traced in popular, proverbial and judicial phrases which pre-date the appearance of formal Latin poetry.⁹⁶ More significant from the point of view of subsequent literary history is the fact that the earliest (pre-metrical) Latin verse extant is highly alliterative, with an uncertain, irregular, rhythmical structure.⁹⁷ W. P. Ker noted the similarity of such early verses quoted in Cato's *De agri cultura* to the oldest Irish alliterative poetry, and more recently both Gabriel Turville-Petre (with respect to Old Norse) and David Hoover (Old English) have stressed the 'primacy of alliteration' as an integral structural feature of early Germanic verse.⁹⁸

When Ennius (239–169 BC), then, became the first composer of Greek quantitative metres in Latin, he apparently adapted native alliterative practices to the new measures with relish. Ennius's alliteration is obtrusive, often overwhelming, and the following few lines amply serve as illustration:⁹⁹

O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti	104
Nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari	344
At tuba terribili sonitu tarantantara dixit	451

berichte der philos.-philol. Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (Munich, 1881).

⁹⁴ See Lachmann's article on Alliteration in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Grüber, 85 vols. (Leipzig, 1818–89) III, 166–7.

⁹⁵ Peck, 'Alliteration in Latin', p. 60. Cordier has an exhaustive list of alliterative studies in his *L'alliteration latine*, pp. 10–14.

⁹⁶ See the examples given by Peck, 'Alliteration in Latin', pp. 61–2.

⁹⁷ See, for example, W. Beare, *Latin Verse and European Song: a Study in Accent and Rhythm* (London, 1957), pp. 114–31.

⁹⁸ Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 321; E. O. G. Turville-Petre, 'Poetry of the Scalds and of the Filid', *Ériu* 22 (1971), 2–22, at 13–14; D. L. Hoover, 'Evidence for the Primacy of Alliteration in Old English Metre', *ASE* 14 (1985), 75–96; see too Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, pp. 6–7.

⁹⁹ Line-numbers after the edition of Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*.

Several studies of Ennius's striking use of this feature have been made, and it seems fair to say that few later Latin authors were so diligent in its execution.¹⁰⁰ Certainly Ennius's immediate literary heirs, more keenly aware, perhaps, of the lack of alliteration in their ultimate Greek models, employed the feature less and less as a conscious artifice. Servius surely reflects contemporary thinking in his comment on Vergil's phrase 'casus Cassandra canebar' (*Aeneid* III.183) that such a method of composition was outmoded ('haec compositio iam vitiosa est, quae maioribus placuit, ut *Anchisen agnoscit amicum* [*Aeneid* III.82] et *sale saxa sonabant* [*Aeneid* V.866]').¹⁰¹

It was against this background that Aldhelm, like an English Ennius, became the first Germanic speaker to compose extensively in quantitative hexameters, noting with satisfaction that 'neminem nostrae stirpis genitum et Germanicae gentis cunabulis confotum in huiuscemodi negotio ante nostram mediocritatem tantopere desudasse' (*DPR* 202.5–6).¹⁰² The insistent and pervasive nature of Aldhelm's alliteration in Latin, not simply in his hexameters, but (as we have seen) in his prose and in his octosyllables, has led several commentators to wonder whether, like Ennius, Aldhelm might also have been influenced by vernacular rhythmic and alliterative poetic models, as William of Malmesbury seems to imply.¹⁰³

The difficulty for commentators hoping to demonstrate any vernacular influence on Aldhelm's use of alliteration in Latin has been that simply demonstrating abundant alliteration in Anglo-Saxon verse in both Latin and Old English does not prove certain influence. Such difficulty is considerably intensified by the problem of achieving systematic and accurate description of alliterative practices; the most recent studies of Latin alliteration apply statistical methods in ways inappropriate to

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 202 and 205. See too Skutsch's notes on the three verses quoted, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, pp. 254–55, 515 and 608. Hucbald of Saint-Amand begins every word of the 146 verses of his *Ecloga de calvis* (a learned defence of baldness dedicated to Hatto, the bald-headed archbishop of Mainz) with the letter C. Hucbald's poem is ed. P. von Winterfeld, MGH, PLAC 4.1, 267–71. He had no imitators.

¹⁰¹ In *Servianorum in Vergilii Carminibus Commentariorum Libri*, ed. A. F. Stocker and A. H. Travis, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1965) III, 83.

¹⁰² 'No one born of our race and nourished in the cradles of the Germanic people has laboured so greatly in this kind of pastime before our humble self.'

¹⁰³ *GP* V.190 (p. 336); cf. *Prose Works*, pp. 5–10.

vernacular verse, whilst earlier scholars (such as Evans) considered alliteration in unhelpfully broad terms.¹⁰⁴ The problem of definition is acute. As Tolkien noted with regard to Old English verse, 'the so-called "alliteration" depends not on letters but on sounds. "Alliteration" or head-rhyme is, in comparison with end-rhyme, too brief, and too variable in its incidence, to allow mere letter-agreements or eye-alliterations.'¹⁰⁵ In the case of Latin, Michael Lapidge has asked: 'Should one simply consider alliteration of the first syllable of a word, no matter what position this word occupies in a metrical foot? Or should one consider the naturally stressed syllable of a Latin word (which on many occasions is a medial syllable)? . . . possibly one should note the alliteration involving syllables at the beginnings of metrical feet.'¹⁰⁶

Any definition of alliteration in Anglo-Latin in particular is blighted from the beginning by the very possibility of vernacular influence from Old English verse where, for example, all the vowels alliterate with each other, but the consonant clusters *sp-*, *st-* and *sc-* each alliterate only with themselves.¹⁰⁷ Both features contradict recognized Classical Latin usage.¹⁰⁸ The question of alliteration of *f* and *v* is sometimes felt to be a

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, the detailed studies by W. M. Clarke, 'Intentional Alliteration in Vergil and Ovid', *Latomus* 35 (1976), 276–300; N. A. Greenberg, 'Alliteration: a Statistical Study', *Latomus* 39 (1980), 587–611. For a wholly unscientific and subjective approach, cf. W. J. Evans, *Alliteratio Latina* (London, 1921); simply counting all words which share the same initial letters is the method followed by Kvíčala, for example, leading him to conclude that alliteration occurs in 72.5% of verses in the *Aeneid* and 72% in the *Georgics*. These are the figures used by Godman, *Alcuin*, p. cv, n. 3, where he wrongly attributes them to Cordier.

¹⁰⁵ J. Clark Hall, *Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment* (London, 1959), p. xxxvi.

¹⁰⁶ Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 220.

¹⁰⁷ See H. M. Fladisek, 'The Phonetic Aspects of Old Germanic Alliteration', *Anglia* 69 (1950), 266–87; P. Salmon, 'Anomalous Alliteration in Germanic Verse', *Neophilologus* 42 (1958), 223–42; H. Kurath, 'A Note on Alliterative Practices in Germanic Verse', *Studies for Einar Haugen Presented by Colleagues and Friends*, ed. E. S. Firchow (The Hague, 1972), pp. 321–2. A simple but enlightening account of Old English alliteration is given by C. S. Lewis, 'The Alliterative Metre', in his *Rehabilitations and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 119–32.

¹⁰⁸ On general Latin usage, see Cordier, *L'alliteration latine*, pp. 23–30. That the situation of the alliterative equivalence of vowels obtained in Classical Latin usage was proposed by C. Bartsch in his interesting work, *Der Saturnische Vers und die altddeutsche Langzeile* (Leipzig, 1867). Bartsch had his own reasons for making this suggestion, as the title of his study implies, and significantly no later scholar has seen fit to take it up, with the sole exception of R. Klotz, *Zur Alliteration und Symmetrie bei Plautus* (Zittau, 1876).

specifically Anglo-Latin issue, and there is confusion even in the best-documented studies about the precise conditions for alliteration between words beginning with the semi-vowels *i* and *u* and with the aspirate *h*.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, for a convenient illustration of what was considered alliteration by one Insular Latin composer of rhythmical octosyllables we may take the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin Hymn to St Comgill ('Audite pantes ta erga') found in the Antiphony of Bangor, which we have already examined in another context. The poem is abecedarian in form, implying some interest in the form of the initial syllables in at least the opening verse of each stanza.¹¹⁰ Here we find occasional strings of verses beginning with the same letter, shorter strings of alliteration linking single pairs of consecutive verses and several examples of identical letters beginning every other verse in a stanza. The same features are to be observed in the roughly contemporary *Altus prosator*, though at a less insistent level. Such alliterative patterning is clearly quite deliberate and ornamental, if not absolutely regular. It is also innovatory. Alliteration cannot be seen to play any prominent role in any iambic dimeters before the seventh century, nor afterwards except where Insular influence may be demonstrated or supposed, as Norberg has noted.¹¹¹

The situation in the Anglo-Latin poems is still clearer, thanks to a habit most prominent in the octosyllabic verses of Æthilwald of composing numbers of rhymed couplets bound by initial alliteration. We might consider in particular the following passages:

- (1) Queam coepto in carmine
 Celso proferre famine
 Virum virtutum rumore
 Fulgescentem in aethere,
 Cassem priscum cum nomine
 Comptum, veluti lumine
 Astra Olimpi ignito
 Ardui orbi vegeto
 Larem librant lucifluam;

¹⁰⁹ On *f* and *v*, see Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 220 and Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 51–2; with regard to the semi-vowels, see W. S. Allen, *Vox Latina: a Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 37–45.

¹¹⁰ On Hiberno-Latin abecedarian hymns, see further my "'Audite Omnes Amantes": a Hymn in Patrick's Praise', pp. 153–5.

¹¹¹ Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 50–1; Travis, *Early Celtic Versecraft*, pp. 86–8.

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- Lustrant axis ignifluam
Molem mundo minacibus
Eminentem cum arcibus,
Fumam furvam frigorebus
Foci complent caloribus
Caeli iubar e culmine
Croceo fundant fulmine:
Titan tremet torrentibus
Taedis late lucentibus (Æth III. 11–28)
- (2) Summo satore Subolis
Satus fuisti nobilis.
Generosa progenitus
Genetrice, expeditus
Statura, <val>de stabilis
Statu et forma agilis.
Capud candescens crinibus
Cingunt capilli nitidis;
Lucent sub fronte lumina
Lati ceu per culmina
Caeli candescunt calida
Clari fulgoris sidera;
Genae gemellae collibus
Glomerantur cum mollibus
Pedetemptim purpureo
Pictae fuco et niveo,
Rosa veluti rutilis
Radiat valde flosculis; (Æth IV. 21–38)
- (3) Vale, vale, fidissime,
Philochriste carissime,
Quem in cordis cubiculo
Cingo amoris vinculo.
Have, Hova altissime,
Olim sodes sanctissime (Æth IV. 1–6)
- (4) Summum satorem, solia
Sedit qui per aethralia,
Alti Olympi arcibus
Obvallatus minacibus,
Cuncta cernens cacumine
Caelorum summo lumine (Æth II. 1–6)

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It is evident that each of the quoted couplets shares an identical alliterative structure. Within each rhymed couplet one or more syllables in the (odd-numbered) on-line alliterate with the first syllable in the (even-numbered) off-line. So, for example, we read:

Summo satore subolis
Satus fuisti nobilis (Æth IV.21–2)

The same pattern can be observed throughout the quoted passages. But this is exactly the structure of vernacular Old English verse, where, generally speaking, the first stressed syllable in the second half-line (the so-called head-stave) alliterates with at least one (and often two) stressed syllables in the first half-line. In the case where (as here) the head-stave alliterates with two syllables in the first half-line, the full line is said to exhibit 'double alliteration'.¹¹² The tendency for Latin words to partake of traditional Germanic alliterative patterns is not unknown later in Anglo-Saxon England, whether in the handful of surviving macaronic Old English-Latin compositions, or in short passages of Anglo-Latin verse, but nowhere else is this seen at such an insistent level, nor (needless to say) at such an early date.¹¹³

That we are in fact dealing with vernacular influence is made still clearer by examining Æthilwald's alliterative pairs. The following alliterative practices obtain in Æthilwald's octosyllables, paralleled, where possible, by verses from the Old English *Beowulf*, and in sharp contrast with both accepted Latin usage and any consistent practice to be found in Hiberno-Latin models:

- (1) Alliteration of *f*, *ph* and *v* in, for example,¹¹⁴

Virum virtutum rumore
Fulgescentem in aethere Æth III.13–14

Phoebe quoque flagrantibus
Fratrem iuvat ardoribus Æth III.31–2

¹¹² Cf. Hoover, *A New Theory*, pp. 53–5.

¹¹³ Cf. the brief Anglo-Latin verses cited by Kitson, 'Some Unrecognized Old English and Anglo-Latin Verse', p. 147.

¹¹⁴ Although alliteration of *f*, *ph* and *v* is unattested in purely OE verse, it is found in Anglo-Saxon macaronic poetry; cf. *A Summons to Prayer*, line 21: 'fultumes friclo uirginem almun' (ASPR VI, 70).

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Vale, vale, fidissime
Philochriste carissime Æth IV. 1-2

(2) Alliteration of all vowels (sometimes preceded by *h*) in, for example,

Alma per adminuncula
Hostium demat spicula Æth II. 27-8

Astra Olimpī ignito
Ardui orbi vegeto Æth III. 17-18

Have, Hova, altissime
Olim sodes sanctissime Æth IV. 5-6

Compare the following verses from *Beowulf*:¹¹⁵

<i>Hunferð</i> mæpelode	<i>Ecglafes</i> bearn	499
<i>eode</i> yrremod	him of <i>eagum</i> stod	726
<i>earm</i> anhaga	<i>eft</i> to leodum	2368
<i>ealdes</i> uhtflogan	<i>orcas</i> stondan	2760

(3) Non-alliteration of *s* with *s*-groups in, for example,

Summo satore subolis
Satus fuisti nobilis Æth IV. 21-22

but

Statura, valde stabilis
Statu et forma agilis Æth IV. 25-26

The same patterning is common in *Beowulf*:

on <i>stefn</i> stigon	<i>streamas</i> wundon	212
<i>steap</i> stanhlīðo	<i>stige</i> nearwe	1409
<i>sid</i> ond searofah	<i>sund</i> cunnian	1444
<i>swylce</i> he siomian	<i>gereah</i> segn eallgylden	2767

Other features in the quoted passages, such as the alliteration of *c* and *q* and alliteration between the initial of one word and the root-syllable of another, are, however, attested elsewhere in Latin.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Further examples of *h*- being discounted for alliterative purposes are available from other Old English poems; cf. (from the same manuscript as *Beowulf*) *Judith* 180: 'Holofernes unlifigendes'. The same thing occurs with certain consonant-combinations, e.g. *Beowulf* 1390: 'Aris, rices weard, uton *braðe* feran'. Cf. the brief discussion by Kitson, 'Some Unrecognized Old English and Anglo-Latin Verse', p. 148.

¹¹⁶ Cordier, *L'allitération latine*, pp. 23-30.

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Table 2. *The distribution of double alliteration in some Anglo-Latin octosyllables*

Poem	No. of couplets with double alliteration	No. of couplets	% of couplets with double alliteration
CR	23	100	23.00
Æth I	19	92	20.65
Æth II	14	23	60.87
Æth III	22	39	56.41
Æth IV	22	39	56.41

The frequency of this sort of double alliterative patterning in Anglo-Latin octosyllables, where the first stressed syllable of the even-numbered off-verse of the rhymed couplet acts like the head-stave of Germanic vernacular verse and alliterates (according to the rules determined above) with at least two syllables in the odd-numbered on-verse can be gauged by Table 2.¹¹⁷

As a control I have analysed two Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic poems, namely *Altus prosator* and the Hymn to St Comgill, both of which, as we have already seen, demonstrate a conscious striving after alliterative effects. Here too I counted mutual alliteration of all vowels for the sake of a fair comparison, although there is no evidence that such alliteration is found in Hiberno-Latin. There are only six couplets with this brand of double alliteration amongst the 139 rhymed couplets of the *Altus prosator* (= 4.32%), and five in the ninety-two in the Hymn to St Comgill (= 5.43%), figures which suggest that any such double alliteration in Hiberno-Latin is best regarded as accidental.

That such alliterative patterning is between four and twelve times as frequent in the Anglo-Latin texts as in comparable Hiberno-Latin verses

¹¹⁷ It is interesting to compare the distribution of double alliteration in some Old English poems. Hoover, *A New Theory*, p. 55, reckons that such alliteration accounts for 49.11% of the verses in *Beowulf*, and 46.89% of the verses in the *Battle of Maldon*, and cites Graz to suggest that there are comparable figures for *Genesis* (35%), *Exodus* (51%) and *Daniel* (48%). With regard to the earliest Old English verse, I count a wide range of figures, from *Bede's Death Song* (20%), through *Cædmon's Hymn* (44%), to the *Leiden Riddle* (64%). These figures, however, are scarcely secure, given the brevity of the poems concerned.

surely indicates that what was a chance ornament for Irish poets was developed in Anglo-Saxon England into a conscious structural feature. As Norberg has noted in another context, 'Les Anglo-Saxons avaient en effet emprunté à leurs maîtres, les Irlandais, un gout prononcé pour l'allitération. Mais, alors que les Irlandais en avaient fait un usage tout à fait irrégulier, les Anglo-Saxons l'avaient en quelque sorte régularisé, si bien que l'on reliait souvent deux par deux des vers courts par le moyen de l'allitération'.¹¹⁸ The propensity towards this kind of binding alliteration between verses already linked by rhyme is clearly present to a significant degree in the *Carmen rhythmicum* of Aldhelm, who must be credited with at least sowing the seeds for the introduction of vernacular poetic elements into Latin verse. But as the figures decisively demonstrate, it was his student Æthilwald (in Æth II-IV) who fully integrated this type of double alliteration into the Anglo-Latin octosyllable.

The difference between the verses beginning 'Nuper dein labentibus' (Æth I), which approach the same level of double alliteration as Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* (20.65% and 23% respectively) and all the rest of Æthilwald's extant octosyllables, in which this feature occurs nearly three times as often, is particularly interesting. The hypothesis that this difference represents a refinement of Æthilwald's poetic technique through time is unsustainable, since we have the evidence of Æthilwald's own letter to Aldhelm that two of these poems (Æth I and Æth III) were roughly contemporary. What is especially noteworthy is that in commending to Aldhelm's attention the verses beginning 'Æthereus qui omnia' (Æth III), in which this type of double alliteration is most rife, Æthilwald seems to refer to just such alliterative regularity when he describes the poem as 'non pedum mensura elucubratum, sed octenis syllabis in uno quolibet versu compositis, una eademque littera comparis linearum trāmitibus aptata' (Ep ii.496-7).¹¹⁹ It is still more interesting to consider the rather rambling opening of this poem itself, which reads as follows:

Æthereus qui omnia
Mundi Herus molimina
Verbi tantum cum numine
Formasti in origine,
Mihi, nova qui nutibus

¹¹⁸ *Introduction*, pp. 50-1.

¹¹⁹ 'Forged not by the measure of feet, but with eight syllables placed in any one verse, and one and the same letter adapted to the paired paths of the lines.'

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Adgredior nutantibus,
Litterarum cum lusibus,
Odas coaptem usibus,
Facunda funde famina¹²⁰ (Æth III. 1–9)

Ethwald took the rather simplistic view that the reference to *nova* ('novelties') here (Æth III.5), together with the 'orationis perplexitas cum metro simplicissimo aegre proficiens',¹²¹ indicated that this was Æthilwald's first attempt at octosyllabic composition. It seems more likely that here Æthilwald is explicitly signalling to Aldhelm a break with the octosyllabic form espoused by the latter, and which Æthilwald has himself attempted in the verses beginning 'Nuper dein labentibus' (Æth I) which accompany this novel experiment in octosyllabic alliteration, his 'nova . . . litterarum cum lusibus'.

The fact that this alliterative experiment drew on techniques favoured by vernacular and at this date predominantly pagan poets reciting their verse in the banquet-hall seems not to have been lost on Aldhelm, whose letter of rebuke (as it may perhaps be interpreted) to Æthilwald for mimicking pagan poetic practice has been preserved by William of Malmesbury.¹²² In this letter Aldhelm warns Æthilwald about the dangers of dallying too much 'in cotidianis potationibus et conviviis usu frequentiore ac prolixiore inhoneste superfluis',¹²³ and informs him of the peril of secular literature (*saecularium litterarum*).

Aldhelm's apparent censure of Æthilwald's use of Germanic models seems somewhat hypocritical, given that his own octosyllables are also influenced by vernacular alliterative patterns. Æthilwald simply increased the importance of couplets with this brand of double alliteration in octosyllabic composition. Moreover, if we take account of alliteration *tout court* within the individual verse, Aldhelm has no match, as shown in Table 3.

¹²⁰ 'Heavenly Lord, you who created in the beginning all the trappings of the world with but the divinity of the Word, pour forth eloquent words for me, who attempt novelties, if your favour is agreeable, (so that) I may adapt the verses to the usages, with play on letters.'

¹²¹ *Opera*, p. 534: 'Confusion of the style being scarcely suited to the very simple metre.'

¹²² *Opera*, pp. 499–500 (*Ep* xi); trans. Herren, *Prose Works*, p. 168.

¹²³ *Ep* xi.499–500: 'In daily drinking-parties and feasts hideously excessive in their too frequent and prolix practice.' It might not be too far-fetched to see in Aldhelm's use of the term *usu* here a conscious and stinging echo of the same term *usibus* found in Æthilwald's own verse (Æth III.8).

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Table 3. *The distribution of alliterating verses in some Anglo-Latin octosyllables*

Poem	No. of Alliterating Verses	Total No. of Verses	% of Alliterating Verses
CR	147	200	73.50
Æth I	106	184	57.61
Æth II	29	46	63.04
Æth III	52	78	66.67
Æth IV	52	78	66.67

Nearly three-quarters of Aldhelm's octosyllabic verses exhibit alliteration. The poem 'Nuper dein labentibus' (Æth I), which may well be the earliest of Æthilwald's compositions, shows a more subdued level of alliteration, whilst the remainder of Æthilwald's corpus demonstrates a remarkable consistency. A similar analysis with respect to the two early Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic poems already discussed reveals that the percentages of alliterating verses in *Altus prosator* and the Hymn to St Comgill are 20.14% and 18.48% respectively, figures less than a third as large as for the Anglo-Latin poems considered, and which again demonstrate the innovatory nature of Aldhelm's alliterative practice.

ALDHELM AND THE *ALTUS PROSATOR*

It seems that Aldhelm inherited a rather flexible octosyllabic verse-form from Hiberno-Latin models, in which rhyme and alliteration provided fairly frequent, if irregular, ornament, as in a number of contemporary Irish vernacular poems. Aldhelm's main role in the development of the Anglo-Latin octosyllable seems to have been one of regularization and elaboration, using more ambitious rhyme-schemes and more prominent alliteration. Vernacular influence may be detected not simply in the diction of Aldhelm's octosyllables,¹²⁴ but in their alliterative structure, an influence which found still fuller development in the octosyllables of Aldhelm's pupil, Æthilwald, and in the techniques of composition of his own hexameters, as we shall see. It remains for us to consider whether any

¹²⁴ Cf. Lapidge's comments, *Poetic Works*, p. 262, n. 8.

of Aldhelm's specific Hiberno-Latin sources may be discerned, and to investigate the subsequent popularity of the form.

The intriguing possibility that Aldhelm may have had a first-hand acquaintance with *Altus prosator* has been investigated in some detail by Jane Stevenson.¹²⁵ Her evidence, though extensive, is ultimately inconclusive, resting as it does on a number of more or less obscure words shared by Aldhelm and his anonymous Hiberno-Latin counterpart, and Stevenson leaves the question open.¹²⁶ The case deserves careful review, however; there is further evidence to suggest that *Altus prosator* was indeed a specific model for *Carmen rhythmicum*.

In an earlier section of her work Stevenson established a link between *Altus prosator* (AP) and a number of glossaries associated with early Anglo-Saxon England, in particular those now known as Épinal-Erfurt (ÉE), Corpus (Cp), and Erfurt II (E2).¹²⁷ Stevenson noted the occurrence of following words from *Altus prosator* in one or more of these glossaries:

AP I.1	<i>altum</i>	E2 263.65	ÉE 345.6	Cp A479
AP IV.8	<i>baratrum</i>	E2 270.10		Cp B39
AP IX.2	<i>brumalia</i>			Cp B191
AP IX.6	<i>ceruleus</i>	E2 275.33		
AP 10.9	<i>charipdis (sic)</i>	E2 276.30		Cp C370/H19
AP III.9	<i>coenodoxia</i>		ÉE 349.43	Cp C275
AP XI.2	<i>crefrat (sic)</i>		ÉE 351.11	Cp C872
AP IX.4	<i>dodrans</i>		ÉE 355.61	Cp D343
AP XIII.6	<i>edax</i>			Cp E34
AP VII.12	<i>ergastulum</i>	E2 290.46	ÉE 358.52	Cp E276
AP XXIII.1	<i>furibundus</i>	E2 296.65		Cp F429
AP X.5	<i>gigans</i>		ÉE 363.8	Cp G90
AP VIII.5	<i>globum</i>	E2 298.42		
AP VII.1	<i>grassare</i>	E2 299.17		
AP XXII.1	<i>hymnus</i>		ÉE 364.53	Cp H165

¹²⁵ Stevenson, 'Altus prosator', pp. 67–81.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–66. The First Erfurt glossary (E1) is printed in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. Goetz V, 337–401, with variants from the Épinal glossary (Ép) given at the foot of the pages. Reference is to page- and line-number in this edition. The Corpus glossary is ed. W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge, 1921). Reference here is to letter- and entry-number. The Second Erfurt glossary (E2) is in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. Goetz V, 259–337. Reference is again to page- and line-number.

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AP XV.6	<i>manatia</i> (sic)	E2 309.26		
AP XX.5	<i>metas</i>		ÉE 371.2	
AP IX.4	<i>oceanum</i>			Cp O125
AP XX.10	<i>orion</i>	E2 316.69		Cp O255
AP XI.7	<i>peditemptim</i>	E2 319.40	ÉE 381.31	Cp P340
AP IX.1	<i>pontiae</i>	E2 321.51		
AP V.12	<i>prepagmen</i> (sic)	E2 322.44		
AP XX.11	<i>problisma</i>	E2 324.10		
AP I.1	<i>prosator</i>	E2 324.18	ÉE 380.6	Cp P664
AP V.12	<i>protoplaustus</i>	E2 323.47		Cp P588
AP X.11	<i>scilla</i>	E2 330.45	ÉE 392.25	Cp S168
AP XX.5	<i>thetis</i>		ÉE 395.29	Cp T75
AP XXII.3	<i>tripudiante</i>		ÉE 396.6	Cp T262
AP IX.6	<i>turbo</i>	E2 334.22	ÉE 398.27	Cp T337
AP XXII.4	<i>vernans</i>		ÉE 400.35	Cp V128
AP XX.10	<i>vesperugo</i>	E2 335.4		Cp V131
AP XXI.4	<i>vexilla</i>			Cp V85

One might quibble at Stevenson's inclusion of some of these words, most notably *altum*, glossed universally as *mare uel caelum* ('sea' or 'sky'), used in *Altus prosator* in its most basic sense ('high', 'deep'), but nevertheless this list gives a basis for further study. Further caution is required with respect to those words which are also to be found in other commonly read sources, particularly the Vulgate or Vergil, since these constitute a large proportion of the list.¹²⁸ It seems reasonable in the light of these alternative possible sources to give more weight to some elements in Stevenson's list than others; I should signal *brumalia*, *coenodoxia*, *crefrat*, *dodrans*, *peditemptim*, *pontiae*, *prepagmen*, *problisma*, *prosator*, *protoplaustus*, *tripudio*, *verno* and

¹²⁸ In the Vulgate, for example, there are instances of *barathrum* (Jud. V.15), *ergastulum* (Exod. VI.6, 7; Jer. XXXVII.15), *furibundus* (III Reg. XX.43), *gigans* (twenty-four times), *globus* (Num. XVI.11; IV Reg. IX.17; both times in the required glossary sense of *collectio multorum*), *grassor* (II Sam. XXIV.21), *hymnus* (thirty-one times), *mano* (twelve times), Orion (Job IX.9; Amos V.8), *turbo* (forty-one times), and *vexillum* (Num II.2; Jer. VI.1). In the poems of Vergil, we find *barathrum* (*Aeneid* III.421 and VIII.254), *caeruleus* (sixteen times), *Charybdis* (*Aeneid* III.420, III.558, III.684 and VII.302), *edax* (*Aeneid* II.758), *furibundus* (*Aeneid* IV.646 and 12 XII.946), *globus* (*Aeneid* IX.36, IX.409, IX.515 and X.373), *mano* (*Georgics* I.485 and III.310; *Aeneid* III.43 and III.175), *meta* (*Aeneid* XII.546), *Oceanus* (eighteen times), *Orion* (*Aeneid* I.535, III.517, IV.52, VII.719 and X.763), *Scylla* (ten times), *Thetis* (*Eclogues* IV.32; *Georgics* I.399; *Aeneid* V.825), and *turbo* (nineteen times).

vesperugo. With these reservations, however, there remains good reason to accept Stevenson's conclusion that 'the Épinal, Erfurt, Corpus and Erfurt 2 glossaries appear to contain an "Altus-batch" which can be traced back to their archetype'.¹²⁹

Recent studies have illuminated still more clearly the activities of glossators in early Anglo-Saxon England. Lapidge and Pheifer have shown that the ultimate origins of early Anglo-Saxon glossaries are to be sought in the great burst of intellectual activity which took place in the school at Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian towards the end of the seventh century.¹³⁰ It was at Canterbury that the 'original English collection' of *glossae collectae* which are now found in the Leiden family of continental glossaries was compiled, and its transmission to continental centres can be directly related to the flourishing missionary activity of the Anglo-Saxons during the eighth century. Indeed, after a detailed comparison of a number of related glossaries from the period, Pheifer postulates that 'X, the common ancestor of Épinal-Erfurt, Corpus, and Erfurt II . . . , was at Canterbury in the latter part of the seventh century'.¹³¹ In view of the short period which Aldhelm spent at the school of Theodore and Hadrian, this observation is highly significant, since it allows for the possibility that Aldhelm may have drawn on glossaries derived from *Altus prosator* at Canterbury; such activity was an important weapon in Aldhelm's verbal armoury, as a number of studies have shown.¹³²

The picture is further coloured by the fact that the earliest of the dateable extant English group of glossaries, Épinal-Erfurt, has been assigned on linguistic, palaeographical and other grounds to the last quarter of the seventh century, and yet itself contains a large number of words which derive from Aldhelm's own works, in particular the prose *De virginitate*.¹³³ Napier and Bradley regarded Aldhelm as a major source of Épinal-Erfurt, and Bradley even noted that 'The general correctness of the Aldhelm renderings in Épinal, as compared with the frequent blunderings of later

¹²⁹ '*Altus prosator*', p. 67.

¹³⁰ Lapidge, 'Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 53-66; Pheifer, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries', esp. pp. 43-4.

¹³¹ 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries', p. 36.

¹³² See particularly W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leiden Glossaries* (London, 1921), pp. 97-8; Pheifer, *Old English Glosses*, pp. lv-lvi. Cf. Marenbon, 'Les sources du vocabulaire', esp. pp. 78-82.

¹³³ See Brown, 'The Irish Element', p. 109, n. 12; Pheifer, *Old English Glosses*, pp. lxxxix-xci.

glossators, seem to suggest that the information may have been derived from the fountain head.¹³⁴ The implication, that (in Bradley's own words) 'the archetype of Épinal and Erfurt was compiled in the school of Aldhelm at Malmesbury, and perhaps under his personal supervision', has survived scholarly scrutiny for seventy years.¹³⁵ Pheifer, the latest editor of the Old English glosses in Épinal-Erfurt, has described Bradley's suggestion as 'an attractive possibility which is not at variance with the linguistic evidence'.¹³⁶

Other evidence gives still further credence to the notion. Schlutter noted several traces of Celtic terms in the Épinal-Erfurt and Corpus glossaries, which have since been associated with the influence of the Irish vernacular on the early Anglo-Saxon glossators.¹³⁷ A further example of Irish influence is noted by Pheifer, where the term *roactu* (E1 356.41, properly *ro-achtatar*, third person plural perfect of Old Irish *aigid* 'drives, impels', used here in a specialized legal sense 'pleads, sues'), has apparently been misunderstood by the English glossator.¹³⁸ The dialect of the Old English glosses of Épinal-Erfurt seems Anglian, specifically Mercian, but there is a remarkable number of occasional forms of a West Saxon or Kentish type. Pheifer confesses himself exasperated, but the evidence indicates an ultimately Southumbrian origin.¹³⁹ Bede notes only one Irish missionary active in Southumbria in the period in question, namely Dícuil of Bosham (HE IV.13), and Plummer notes that his missionary activity 'does not appear to have had much success'.¹⁴⁰ A more plausible source for this Celtic strain in the glosses may be provided by the shadowy figure of Máildub, whom William of Malmesbury describes as Aldhelm's own teacher; at any

¹³⁴ Bradley, 'Remarks on the Corpus Glossary', p. 102; see also A. S. Napier, *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished* (Oxford, 1900).

¹³⁵ 'Remarks on the Corpus Glossary', p. 101.

¹³⁶ *Old English Glosses*, p. lviii; Pheifer cites both the observations by Bradley quoted above.

¹³⁷ O. B. Schlutter, 'Some Celtic Traces in the Glosses', *The American Journal of Philology* 21 (1900), 188–92. Most prominent amongst these traces are *orge occide* (ÉE 376.29; Cp O238), which seems clearly related to Old Irish *org*, imperative of *orgaid* 'kill'; *beta birc arbor dictur* (ÉE 347.15), the closest cognate of which is Old Irish *beirthe* 'birch'; *ludaris steor* (ÉE 369.30), cognate with Welsh *lludyn* 'young animal' and Cornish *lodzhon* 'bullock'; and *ogastrum aeggemong* (ÉE 375.6; Cp O139 *aeggimang*), which seems related to Old Irish *og* 'egg'.

¹³⁸ 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries', p. 29.

¹³⁹ *Old English Glosses*, p. xci.

¹⁴⁰ *VBOH* II, 226.

rate it is clear that at an early stage of his education Aldhelm was taught by an Irishman.¹⁴¹ It is tempting to speculate that the Épinal-Erfurt glossary is the product of a characteristically Aldhelmian blend of Irish influence from Malmesbury and continental influence from Canterbury.¹⁴²

Some support for this notion is to be had from a consideration of Aldhelm's use of the vocabulary in Stevenson's list of words common to both *Altus prosator* and the early English glossaries noted above. If we discount *altum* for the reasons already stated, and also ignore those words which Aldhelm could equally have derived from the Vulgate or Vergil, then we are left with the following words: *cenodoxia* (*PdV* 245.9 and 239.19; *CdV* 2679); *crebro* (*CR* 51); *dodrans* (*Ep* v.489.13; *CR* 108); *peditemptim* (*DM* 70.19; *DPR* 183.3; *PdV* 275.17; *Ep* i.478.3); *pontia* (*Ep* iii.479.10); *praesagmen* (*CdV* 304; *Ep* iii.479.6); *prosator* (*Ep* v.488.5 and v.492.5); *protoplaustus* (*DM* 62.8 and 68.23; *PdV* 239.12 and 291.13; *CdV* 2494 and 2681; *Ep* IV.482.16 and V.488.7); *tripudio* (*DM* 75.11; *PdV* 231.15, 240.4 and 292.12; *Ep* i.476.3 and v.489.12); *verno* (*DPR* 179.21; *PdV* 237.20 and 298.19; *CE* II.20; *E* LI.1 and LXXIV.1; *CdV* 194, 266, 318, 1667, 1698 and 2791; *Ep* v.492.13). Whilst it is certainly striking to note that of the relevant 'glossary-words' in *Altus prosator* no fewer than ten are also found in Aldhelm's works, it is more important to note the distribution of such words throughout Aldhelm's corpus. Three texts seem over-represented, given their size with respect to the rest of Aldhelm's works, namely the *Carmen rhythmicum* and the *Epistolae* to Wihtfrith (*Ep* iii) and Heahfrith (*Ep* v), which together account for all but two of the words noted here (the exceptions are *cenodoxia* and *peditemptim*); indeed four of these words are entirely restricted to these three texts (*crebro*, *dodrans*, *pontia* and *prosator*). The prominence of the letters to Wihtfrith and Heahfrith in this context is particularly interesting, since it suggests that Aldhelm may have considered a number of these words to have a particularly Irish flavour; in both cases Aldhelm writes to students and casts aspersions on the standards of learning (and morality) to be found in Ireland.¹⁴³ Part of the force of his argument seems to lie in a conscious parody of the conceits and mannerisms of Hiberno-Latin, and some have thought that they can detect in these two letters a number of self-

¹⁴¹ On Maíldub, see above, pp. 4–5.

¹⁴² See too Pheifer, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries', p. 44.

¹⁴³ The letters to Heahfrith and Wihtfrith are in *Opera*, pp. 486–94 and 479–480; both are trans. Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 160–4 and 154–5.

consciously employed Irish mannerisms (*scotticae consuetudines*).¹⁴⁴ It is therefore intriguing to find in the letter to Wihtfrith the words *pontiae* and *praesagmen* within a few lines of each other, as in *Altus prosator*. Such clustering of terms from *Altus prosator*, strongly suggesting conscious borrowing, is found in other passages by Aldhelm too.¹⁴⁵ The letter to Heahfrith is particularly rich in 'glossary-words' from *Altus prosator*; we find *dodrans*, *prosator* (twice), *protoplastus*, *tripudio* and *verno*, as well as *ergastulum* and *globus* from Stevenson's original list. In the same way the *Carmen rhythmicum* has a large overlap of ornate vocabulary with *Altus prosator*; in addition to *crebro* and *dodrans*, we find from Stevenson's original list *furibundus*, *grassor*, *mano*, *oceanum* and (four times) *turbo*. There are also some possible verbal echoes of *Altus prosator* in such phrases from the *Carmen rhythmicum* as *mundi machina* (CR 17; cf. AP V.1: *mundi machinam*), *Oceanus cum . . . dodrantibus* (CR 107–8; cf. AP IX.4: *Oceani dodrantibus*), and *simul ruptis radicibus* (CR 44; cf. AP XI.4: *simul ruptis obicibus*), as well as numerous (rather uncommon) words occurring in the same position in the rhythmical verse.¹⁴⁶ In the light of such evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that Aldhelm did indeed possess a first-hand knowledge of *Altus prosator*, which may well therefore have provided the main model and source for both the form and diction of his own *Carmen rhythmicum*.

AFTER ALDHELM: THE ANGLO-LATIN LEGACY

Aldhelm considerably adapted the Hiberno-Latin pattern that he inherited, and was to become both model and source for generations of later Anglo-Latin octosyllabic poets. We have already seen his influence on both Æthilwald and the anonymous author of the Dedication to St Paul, but he (and his student Æthilwald) inspired other authors also.

¹⁴⁴ The phrase is Ehwald's (*Opera*, p. 487). For a more cautious view, see my 'Some Aspects of Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin', pp. 158–9.

¹⁴⁵ Particularly intriguing in this respect are two passages from the prose *De virginitate* (PdV 238.18–21, 239.10–19), describing a sea-storm and the fall of Satan (cf. AP VII.3–4).

¹⁴⁶ So, for example, we might note in this context *luminaria* (CR 38; cf. AP VI.2 and XXI.5: *luminaribus*); *grassabatur* (CR 52; cf. AP VII.1: *grassatis*); *flaminibus* (CR 113; AP IX.9); *turbinibus* (CR 138; cf. AP IX.6); *magnopere* (CR 155; cf. AP II.11); *parietibus* (CR 173; cf. AP VIII.10); *ingenito* (CR 197; cf. AP I.2: *ingenitus*). It is interesting to note the shared ending *duobus* (CR 151 and AP VII.1), since both poems err in making the word proparoxytone, when it is properly stressed *duóbus*.

Aldhelm and the Anglo-Latin octosyllable

Boniface and his circle

After Æthilwald and Aldhelm, the most prolific exponent of the Aldhelmian octosyllable was Boniface. A Southumbrian, Boniface was born with the English name Wynfrith, near Exeter (*ad Escancastre*) c. 675.¹⁴⁷ A later tradition gives Crediton, in Devon, as his birthplace.¹⁴⁸ He was educated by one Wynberht (perhaps to be identified with the recipient of Aldhelm's *Ep* xiii) at the monastery of Nursling (*Nhutscele*) in Hampshire, and studies by Schulling and Law have elucidated the varied extent of his early reading.¹⁴⁹

The close stylistic links between the early works of Boniface and those of Aldhelm have been noted often; for a time Lehmann, seduced by a false ascription in a later manuscript, even attributed Boniface's *Epistola ad Sigeberhtum* to Aldhelm.¹⁵⁰ Boniface's early epistolary style bears a close resemblance to that of Aldhelm, and numerous (and by no means exhaustive) parallels are indicated in the notes to Tangl's edition. Almost every line of Boniface's metrical hexameters reveals a debt to the phraseology and metrical technique of Aldhelm's verse, and clear acquaintance with the whole range of his poetry.¹⁵¹ Against this background, it is scarcely surprising that Boniface should adopt the rhythmical form of the Aldhelmian octosyllable. Three such poems survive. The earliest of these occurs in the *Epistola ad Sigeberhtum* and indicates familiarity with the octosyllables of Æthilwald. In one verse (line 8) Boniface borrows a line

¹⁴⁷ For the details of his life we rely principally on the early hagiographical work of Willibald, *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SRG (Hannover, 1905), pp. 1–57. On his birth-date, see F. Flaskamp, 'Das Geburtsjahr des Wynfrith-Bonifatius', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1927), 339–44.

¹⁴⁸ See Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁹ H. Schulling, 'Die Handbibliothek des Bonifatius', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 4 (1961–3), 286–348; V. A. Law, 'The *Ars Bonifacii*: a Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary on the Sources' (unpubl. PhD. dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1978), esp. pp. xxi–xxxvii.

¹⁵⁰ P. Lehmann, 'Ein neuentdecktes Werk eines angelsächsischen Grammatikers vorkarolingischer Zeit', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1931), 738–56, at 755–6; his error was swiftly corrected by N. Fickermann, in a review in *Neues Archiv* 49 (1932), 763–4, and Lehmann later retracted, adding a few comments of his own in his 'Die Grammatik aus Aldhelms Kreise', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932), 758–71. Lehmann's error was based on a rubric in one of the four extant manuscripts, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1104 (1321) (s. ix).

¹⁵¹ See further below, pp. 248–53.

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from Æthilwald verbatim,¹⁵² whilst the opening pair of couplets demonstrate the particular kind of double alliteration introduced by Aldhelm, but popularized by Æthilwald:

Vale Christo ueraciter
Ut et uiuas perenniter
Sanctae matris in sinibus
Sacris nitens uirtutibus.¹⁵³

Two further octosyllabic poems by Boniface survive, both in early (and heavily Aldhelmian) letters addressed to colleagues in England. The first of these is appended to a letter to the young Nithard, urging him in the furtherance of his ecclesiastical studies. Tangl dates the letter to the period 716 x 717, before Wynfrith (as he styles himself here, a sure indication of a date before 719, when he took on the name Boniface) finally left for the Continent.¹⁵⁴ The twenty-eight octosyllabic verses of this poem form in part an acrostic, reading NITHARDUS VIVE FELIX according to the line-order reconstructed by James.¹⁵⁵ The acrostic form itself, employed to good effect elsewhere by Boniface, may well be an adumbration of Aldhelm's practice in the prefaces to his *Enigmata* and *Carmen de uirginitate*. The text of the poem itself is unremarkable, but shares many stylistic features with the rest of Boniface's octosyllables.¹⁵⁶ The diction of these octosyllables is insistently Aldhelmian throughout, betraying acquaintance not only with Aldhelm's prose style but with that of his verse. We may compare the couplet *excelsi regni praemial lucidus captes aurea* (lines 25–6) with Aldhelm's hexameter line *aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni* (*CdV* 2005).¹⁵⁷ Again, the insistent but not obtrusive alliteration of these verses lies closer to that found in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* than to the

¹⁵² Compare Boniface's *angelorum cum milibus* (line 8) with Æth I.92.

¹⁵³ *Ars grammatica*, ed. Gebauer and Löfstedt, p. 12: 'Truly farewell in Christ, [I wish] that you may live forever in the bosom of the holy mother, shining with sainted virtues.' Cf. Schröbler, 'Zu den *Carmina rhythmica*', p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 4–7 (no. 9).

¹⁵⁵ M. R. James, 'Boniface's Poems to Nithardus', *EHR* 29 (1914), 94; cf. Schröbler, 'Zu den *Carmina rhythmica*', p. 16.

¹⁵⁶ So one might compare the phrase *Christum laudes praeconio* in this poem (line 28), with *Christum laudes per aethera* in the poem just discussed (line 9).

¹⁵⁷ It is, however, possible that Boniface may have borrowed directly from Aldhelm's own source, Caelius Sedulius, whose *Carmen paschale* I.40 reads: 'aurea perpetui capietis praemia regni'.

stricter alliterative structures of Æthilwald's verse. The rhyme-scheme is predominantly monosyllabic, including one rather imperfect rhyme on *apostolicis/ laudibus* that is, however sanctioned by the usage of Æthilwald, if not of Aldhelm. A further fragmentary octosyllabic poem is appended to a letter from Wynfrith to Abbess Eadburg of Thanet describing the otherworld vision of a monk of Much Wenlock, dated to the year 716 by Tangl.¹⁵⁸ The poem may be quoted in full (with alliteration noted):

Vale, vere virgo vite
Ut et vivas angelice
Recto rite et rumore
Regnes semper in aethere
Christum . . .¹⁵⁹

Here the opening couplets, as with those of the poem from the *Epistola ad Sigeberhtum* already quoted, which they strongly resemble, again employ prominent double alliteration (over-prominent, indeed, by the standards of Aldhelm and Æthilwald), and perhaps demonstrate in their stock phrasing that Boniface conspicuously lacked the poetic gifts in octosyllabic composition of Aldhelm or even Æthilwald. It is surely significant, moreover, that all the octosyllabic compositions by Boniface that survive date from his youth in England, when his allegiance to Aldhelm in all literary matters was strongest, and before years of missionary activity had apparently dimmed his zeal for pyrotechnic prose and derivative verse. It seems highly likely, however, that it was Boniface who carried the spark of the octosyllabic rhythm to Germany and handed over the form to the next generation of English abroad.

Another Englishman, Lul, was the successor of Boniface as archbishop of Mainz. Here the discussion comes full circle, for it was at the instigation of Lul that the bulk of the extant octosyllables of Aldhelm and Æthilwald were transmitted to the Continent, where they are still preserved today. Through Lul's extant correspondence it is possible to gain a detailed picture of his educational background and reading. One letter from an anonymous monk conveys greetings from Hereca, abbot of Malmesbury, along with a charming reminiscence from the monk, Lul's contemporary at

¹⁵⁸ The letter is in *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 7–15 (no. 10); the octosyllables are found on p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ 'Farewell, maiden of true life, [I wish] that you may live like an angel in due fashion and reputation, and reign forever in Heaven, Christ . . .'

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the school at Malmesbury.¹⁶⁰ The monk asks: 'ut non immemor sis, sed sagacissima mente ad memoriam reducas antiquam amicitiam nostram, qui inter nos habuimus in Maldubia civitate, quando Eaba abbas in amabile caritate nutriti te. Et hoc signum recordeo, quod pro nomine vocavit te Lytel'.¹⁶¹ As we have already seen, it seems that Lul's teacher at Malmesbury may well have been the Dealwine to whom he sent his request for Aldhelm's prose works, along with his metrical and rhythmical verses.¹⁶² During his last trip to Rome Boniface himself had apparently given Lul lessons in metrics, and had earlier sent him to Thuringia to finish off his studies.¹⁶³ As evidence of Lul's metrical ability we have some thirty-four hexameter verses, together with twelve rhythmical octosyllables. Lul's longest metrical poem is appended to a letter to Boniface, dated 739 x 741, included for the master's correction, as Lul says: 'hos tibi versiculos, pater amande, subter scriptos correctionis causa direxi cupiens industriae vestrae scripta promereri, quatenus erroris anfractus ex ipsis certus cognoscam'.¹⁶⁴ Even this short passage contains at least one term, *erroris anfractus*, which seems to have derived from Aldhelm's verse, where the cadences *anfractibus error* (*CdV* 848) and *anfractibus errant* (*CdV* 1521) are found. Tangl identified many further examples of direct borrowing from Aldhelm in Lul's extant correspondence, which contains an even higher proportion of such second-hand phrases than that of Boniface.¹⁶⁵ This tendency to employ Aldhelmian phrases extends to the hexameter verses attached to the letter in question, which are cobbled from a number of disparate sources, including Vergil, Fortunatus, Ovid and (principally) Aldhelm.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 273–4.

¹⁶¹ 'That you do not forget, but recall to memory in your most learned mind our former friendship, which we shared in the monastery at Malmesbury, when Abbot Eaba fostered you with loving care. I remember this token, that he nick-named you "Little".'

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 220–1 (no. 98), and pp. 225–7 (no. 103); also Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 149–50.

¹⁶⁴ 'I have sent these little verses below to you, dear father, for correction, being keen to merit comments from your labouring, so that from them I may know for certain their winding errors'; *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 225–7 (no. 103), at p. 27.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, the critical apparatus to Tangl's *Letter*, no. 98 (*Die Briefe*, pp. 218–22), which is thick with Aldhelmian borrowings at all levels, and yet still scarcely exhaustive.

¹⁶⁶ See Tangl's notes, *Die Briefe*, p. 227.

Lul's only extant octosyllables are appended to a short letter to an anonymous lady offering devotional advice and asking to be remembered in her prayers.¹⁶⁷ Tangl can date the letter no more closely than to the period 746 x 786. The octosyllables are preceded by a short poem of twelve hexameters, again highly reminiscent of Aldhelm's own metrical verse. The letter itself contains several clear echoes of Aldhelmian phraseology including a borrowing from the *Carmen rhythmicum* itself.¹⁶⁸ What is perhaps most worthy of note is that in his own octosyllables Lul borrows only one phrase from earlier rhythmical poets, and that from Boniface himself, not Aldhelm.¹⁶⁹ Other phrases, however, do betray certain influence of Aldhelm's metrical compositions, most notably the opening couplet *vale Christo virguncula Christi nempe tiruncula*, which recalls two characteristically Aldhelmian cadences: *virguncula Christi* (*CdV* 1925) and *tiruncula Christi* (*CdV* 2121). The very form and nature of Lul's octosyllabic compositions, however, demonstrate that Aldhelm's rhythmical work was known, read and imitated by Anglo-Saxons on the Continent.

Still further evidence of the influence of the octosyllables of Aldhelm and his pupil Æthilwald on Anglo-Saxons living and working on the Continent is provided by the few short octosyllabic poems written from a situation of painful isolation abroad by the nun Beorhtgyth to her only brother Bealdheard.¹⁷⁰ Our only source of information about this remarkable woman is provided by three rather mawkish and touchingly pathetic letters, all addressed to Bealdheard.¹⁷¹ We learn from the late (eleventh-century) *Vita Bonifatii* of Otloh that amongst those who worked in Boniface's mission in Germany there were 'feminae . . . religiosae, mater-tera scilicet sancti Lulli nomine Chunihilt, et filia eius Berhtgit, Chunitrad

¹⁶⁷ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 279–80 (no. 140), at p. 280.

¹⁶⁸ Compare Lul's 'sis memor verborum nostrorum, quae pariter pepigimus, quando profectus fueram' (*Die Briefe*, p. 280) with Aldhelm's 'sicut pridem pepigeram/ Quando profectus fueram' (*CR* 7–8); for an example of Lul's borrowing from Æthilwald's *Carmina rhythmica*, compare his 'vale semper, salutatus supplicibus tuorum amicorum cum vocibus' (*Die Briefe*, p. 281 (no. 141)) with Æthilwald's 'salutatis supplicibus/ Æthelwaldi cum vocibus'.

¹⁶⁹ So we might well regard the opening line of Lul's poem, *vale, Christo virguncula*, as a confection of two opening lines by Boniface (*vale, Christo veraciter*, and *vale, vere virgo vite*).

¹⁷⁰ See Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 30–5; Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lul*, pp. 138–9.

¹⁷¹ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 282 and 284–7 (nos. 143, 147 and 148).

et Tecla, Lioba et Waltpurgis, soror Willibaldi et Wunnebaldi. Sed Chunihilt et filia eius Berhtgit, valde eruditae in liberali scientia, in Turingorum regione constituebantur magistrae.¹⁷² An extant letter from Boniface to three of these ladies, Leobgyth, Tecla and Cynehild, dated to the period 742 x 746, gives advice on the contemplative life and underlines the importance of such women to his mission.¹⁷³ The late tradition, preserved here by Otloh, which would make Beorhtgyth and Lul first cousins, is most attractive, underlining as it does the close relationship between the sources and literary pretensions of each. There are, however, several difficulties in reconciling the tradition with the evidence of the correspondence itself. Twice Beorhtgyth notes that she was abandoned by her parents in her youth, and in one letter she begs Bealdheard to allow her back home to die in the place where their parents are buried ('ubi requiescunt corpora parentum nostrorum et temporalem vitam ibi finire').¹⁷⁴ It was this last request that led Hahn to suggest that Beorhtgyth might indeed have returned home to die, and that it was her gravestone, marked *Berhtgyd*, which was found in Hartlepool, Durham, towards the middle of the last century.¹⁷⁵

Unfortunately we are not in a position to date with certainty either of the letters which contain Beorhtgyth's only two surviving octosyllabic poems, beginning 'Vale vivens feliciter' and 'Pro me quaero, oramina';¹⁷⁶ Dümmler's suggestion that her brother Bealdheard is to be identified with the lay witness of that name in four charters from the decade 732 x 742 is tempting, but Tangl's objection to this on the grounds of both chronology and social standing as 'so gut wie ausgeschlossen' is probably accurate.¹⁷⁷ More fruitful, perhaps, is the identification of the messenger Aldræd of one of the letters with the messenger 'Aldredus' who acts as an intermediary

¹⁷² 'Religious women, that is to say a maternal aunt of St Lul's, Cynehild by name, and her daughter Beorhtgyth, Cynethryth and Tecla, Leofgyth and Wealdburg, the sister of Willibald and Wynnibald. But Cynehild and her daughter Beorhtgyth, being greatly learned in the liberal arts, were established as teachers in the district of Thuringia'; in *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, ed. Levison, pp. 111–217, at p. 138.

¹⁷³ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 139–40 (no. 67).

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁷⁵ *Bonifaz und Lul*, p. 138, n. 6. The stone in question, which is dated to the eighth century, is printed as no. 48 (Hartlepool VI) in E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 78.

¹⁷⁶ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 285 and 286–7 respectively.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

between the English priest Ingalice and Lul, in a letter dated to the period c. 740 x 746, since again this suggests some relationship between Beorhtgyth and Lul.¹⁷⁸ What is at any rate clear is that Beorhtgyth was familiar with the octosyllabic compositions of both Aldhelm and Æthilwald, and imitated the diction and style of each shamelessly often. Whole verses are lifted verbatim from the poems of both earlier authors,¹⁷⁹ whilst others of Beorhtgyth's lines simply rearrange or slightly alter borrowed phrases.¹⁸⁰ The further possibility that Beorhtgyth may also have had access to a copy of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* is perhaps supported by the likeness of a couplet in her poem 'Vale vivens feliciter', namely *valeamus angelicis/ victrices iungi milibus* (lines 17–18), to Aldhelmian hexameters such as *iungitur angelicis dum casta sponte maniplis* (CdV 186) and *angelicis iuncti penetrabant coetibus altum* (CdV 1070). It is clear, however, that in the diction of her octosyllables, Beorhtgyth (like Boniface and Lul) relies more heavily on Æthilwald than on Aldhelm. When we turn to consider the alliteration in Beorhtgyth's octosyllables, it seems significant that Æthilwald's particular brand of double alliterative patterning has again had a decisive influence; I count six couplets (from a total of eighteen) which share this alliterating pattern. In matters of rhyme, however, Beorhtgyth is both less ambitious and less accurate than her predecessors. Many of her couplets are linked by monosyllabic rhyme, if we take a charitable view of her near-rhymes on *-is/ -us* (twice), *-a/ -e*, and *-a/ -ae*; these again demonstrate a closer affinity to the verse of Æthilwald than of Aldhelm. The second of her poems, 'Pro me quaero oramina' is particularly execrable in this respect, and also contains two verses ending with the words *maiestate* (line 12) and *sorore* (line 14), both of which are properly stressed on the long penultimate syllable. Beorhtgyth's octosyllables, like those of Boniface and Lul, whilst demonstrating the influence of Aldhelm and Æthilwald into the eighth century, show that none of these imitators were able to match the skill of Aldhelm and his immediate contemporaries.

¹⁷⁸ The letter is in *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 145–6 (no. 72).

¹⁷⁹ So, for example, in the 'Vale vivens feliciter' we find the following 'borrowed' lines: *tibi salus per saecula* (line 3 = Æth III.75); *peto profusus fletibus* (line 8 = Æth II.18); *clara Christi clementia* (line 15 = CR 121). In 'Pro me quaero oramina' we find *fine tenus feliciter* (line 15 = Æth III.7).

¹⁸⁰ So, for example, in 'Vale vivens feliciter' we find the following: *profecto ipsum precibus* (line 7; cf. Æth II.17: *ipsum profecto precibus*); *solo tenus saepissima* (line 9; cf. Æth II.20: *solo tenus saepissime*); *celse laudis in saecula* (line 16; cf. *celsae laudis stridentibus*). In 'Pro me quaero oramina' we find *cum immensa clementia* (line 8; cf. CR 192: *cum immensa maceria*).

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The tenth century

After Beorhtgyth, the next significant Anglo-Latin octosyllables were not composed until the late tenth century, most notably by Lantfred who composed his octosyllables *c.* 975 in Winchester.¹⁸¹ It is tempting to link the resurgence of the form with the simultaneous sharp rise in the popularity of the so-called hermeneutic style of Latin composition, rooted firmly in a close study of all of Aldhelm's works.¹⁸² This renaissance of literary Latin at Winchester is to be strongly associated with the contemporary processes of the Benedictine Reform movement, and in particular with the activity of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester 963–84.¹⁸³ An early *vita* of Æthelwold, written in or shortly after 996 by Wulfstan *Cantor*, his pupil and a monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, records that he was educated under Dunstan at Glastonbury in the 940s, and that 'didicit namque inibi liberalem grammaticae artis peritiam atque mellifluam metricae rationis dulcedinem'.¹⁸⁴ Wulfstan's own phraseology here is suitably heavy with Aldhelmian associations and Michael Lapidge has noted of Æthelwold that 'his prose is informed by a thorough familiarity with Aldhelm'.¹⁸⁵ Although Lantfred was a foreigner, most probably a Frank (Ælfric, another of Æthelwold's proteges, describes him as *Laniferð se ofersæwisca*),¹⁸⁶ there is evidence in all his writings of considerable Anglo-Latin influence.

¹⁸¹ Ed. E. P. Sauvage, 'Sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis episcopi Translatio et Miracula auctore Lantfredo monacho Wintoniensi', *AB* 4 (1885), 367–410, at 400–1.

¹⁸² See Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 101.

¹⁸³ H. W. Heim, 'Æthelwold und die Mönchreform in England', *Anglia* 41 (1917), 405–43; E. John, 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reform', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959–60), 61–87; and B. Yorke's 'Introduction', in *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 1–12. For his literary impact, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 109–17.

¹⁸⁴ *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 14: 'Indeed he learnt there skill in the liberal art of grammar and the mellifluous sweetness of metrical order.'

¹⁸⁵ 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', p. 99. For Wulfstan's debt in this passage, compare his 'liberalem grammaticae artis peritiam atque mellifluam metricae rationis dulcedinem' with Aldhelm's 'metricae artis peritia' (*DM* 75.21 and 82.8); 'metrica ratione' (*DM* 83.25); 'illustris grammaticae artis' (*DPR* 194.2); 'mellifluam dogmatum dulcedinem' (*PdV* 260.6); 'metrica ratio' (*DM* 84.10); 'artis . . . grammaticae ratione' (*Ep* xi.500.11).

¹⁸⁶ *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS os 76, 82, 94, 114, 2 vols. (London, 1881–1900) I, 466.402.

Lapidge has tentatively attributed a rather unspectacular but workmanlike poem of some 186 elegiacs on the question of free will to his hand, and this clearly betrays some acquaintance with at least Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*.¹⁸⁷ Two further poems from contemporary Winchester preserved in the same manuscript share the same source to a lesser extent, although they are almost certainly not by Lantfred.¹⁸⁸

As with these elegiac verses, the thirty-two octosyllables which Lantfred includes in his *Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni* are scarcely compelling. Indeed, it would not be too harsh to describe them as the least distinguished examples of the form in Anglo-Latin literature. The rhyme-scheme is consistently monosyllabic.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore no less than five of the thirty-two octosyllables are naturally stressed on the penultimate rather than the antepenultimate syllable, as in the overwhelming majority of the other English examples of the genre. The poem has much more in common with conventional hymnody than with any of the Anglo-Latin octosyllables analysed; there is no parallel phraseology whatsoever to connect this sorry example with its more illustrious predecessors.

In view of this apparent confusion between traditional hymn-forms and the indigenous Anglo-Latin octosyllable here, it is interesting to note the possibility of Aldhelm's influence on a rather curious hymn to St Cuthbert preserved in three English manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to the tenth century.¹⁹⁰ A further closely related hymn to St Gregory is also extant, five of whose nine stanzas are common to the Hymn to St Cuthbert, and which also seems to be an English composition.¹⁹¹ I quote the first three stanzas and the last from the Hymn to St Cuthbert, although all these verses also occur in the Hymn to St Gregory, with minor variants:

Magnus miles mirabilis,
Multis effulgens meritis,
Cuthbertus nunc cum Domino
Gaudet perenni praemio.

¹⁸⁷ 'Three Latin Poems', ed. Lapidge, pp. 126–37; see further below, p. 272.

¹⁸⁸ 'Three Latin Poems', ed. Lapidge, pp. 108–21 (*Altercatio magistri et discipuli*) and 122–7 (*Responsio discipuli*).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. the couplet *quam custos nocte clauserat/ repagulis ac serula* (lines 23–4). In (later) leonine hexameters *-al -at* is a permissible rhyme.

¹⁹⁰ *AH* XI, 103 (no. 173). See further C. Hohler, 'The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), pp. 155–91, at 169–76.

¹⁹¹ *AH* XIV, 61–2 (no. 51); see the discussion by Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 50–1.

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Carnis terens incendia
Corde credidit Domino,
Caduca cuncta contemnens
Caritatis officio.

Legis mandata Domini
Laetus implevit opere,
Largus, libens, lucifluus
Laudabatur in meritis . . .

Gloria patri ingenito
Ejusque unigenito
Una cum sancto spiritu
In sempiterna saecula.¹⁹²

There seems no clear principle of metre or rhythm observed here, beyond a fixed proparoxytone stress at the end of most verses (except perhaps *contemnens*, which should properly be stressed on the penultimate syllable). All verses are octosyllabic. There is occasional end-rhyme, and copious alliteration, with several couplets incorporating double alliteration. There is, in short, a clear formal resemblance to the Aldhelmian octosyllable. Evidence for a more direct knowledge of Aldhelm's own verse is perhaps provided by the doxology in the last stanza, which bears a resemblance to the final verses of the *Carmen rhythmicum*. The feebleness of the revival in composition of Anglo-Latin octosyllables is perhaps best summed up by Lapidge, who characterizes the author of a further equally limp octosyllabic hymn on St Æthelwold of similar date as 'consciously writing in an ancient form rarely practised by his contemporaries.'¹⁹³

CONCLUSION

Rhythmical octosyllabic verse composition proved a popular pastime (at least in the early period) in Insular Latin, and may be said to typify many of the most idiosyncratic features of that medium. The octosyllabic form that

¹⁹² 'Cuthbert, the marvellous mighty soldier, shining with many qualities, now rejoices in eternal reward with the Lord. Quenching the fires of the flesh, he believed in the Lord with his heart, despising all things transient in the service of Love. In his deeds he joyfully carried out the demands of the Lord's Law; he was praised for his qualities: generous, cheerful, resplendent. Glory to the Father uncreated and to his only-begotten Son, together with the Holy Spirit, world without end.'

¹⁹³ *Wulfstan of Winchester*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. xxvi.

Aldhelm inherited from direct knowledge of *Altus prosator* and related Hiberno-Latin hymns had already assumed several features of contemporary vernacular Irish verse. To these anonymous seventh-century Irishmen we may attribute the introduction of ornamental alliteration and a regular rhyme-scheme. Whether through simple ignorance of Latin metrical practice, or through conscious imitation of vernacular verse (or both), these early Hiberno-Latin poets invented a simple verse-form with but one fixed stress, and frequent hiatus. As with metrical hexameter verse, Aldhelm transformed the Latin pattern he adopted. In the *Carmen rhythmicum* he practically re-invented the octosyllabic form, and it is significant that his alone of all Anglo-Latin octosyllables bear any clear stamp of the Hiberno-Latin model. He packed his octosyllabic verses with an unparalleled degree of alliteration, and may be credited here (as in his hexameters) with writing verse stylistically reminiscent of vernacular Old English poetry. He experimented with polysyllabic rhyme of a most ambitious sort, and brought a fluency to the form as far removed from the opaque bombast of the *Altus prosator* as from his own end-stopped metrical verse. Here too he proved the finest of the Anglo-Latin octosyllabic poets, as Æthilwald's rambling verses and the shambling efforts of his later imitators amply show. Again, as with his prose and hexameter verse, Aldhelm's impact was immediate. His lead was followed in his own lifetime by eager students such as Æthilwald, who again changed the form and, at times, can almost be said to be writing Old English verse in Latin. For later poets the student proved as much an influence (if not more) as his master. The Aldhelmian brand of octosyllable seems predominantly (if not exclusively) a West Saxon preoccupation, and in a period not normally noted for the richness of its sources we are unusually lucky in being able to trace with some clarity the influence of a small body of some 586 octosyllabic verses on the isolated West Saxon missionaries on the Continent. When the tenth century turned to Aldhelm for inspiration, it is again fitting that his octosyllables should come to the fore, and again characteristic that his methods should have been so abused and misunderstood.

In the octosyllable we can see Aldhelm at work, blending foreign and native elements together in a typically Anglo-Saxon way, and having great scope to do so simply by the freedom of the form. This introduction of vernacular elements into Latin verse is (as we shall see) characteristic of his metrical composition also, and demands more attention from Old English scholars too used to thinking of Aldhelm as a 'hard' Latin author,

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interesting but irrelevant to the literary history of the language. But Aldhelm's concerns were Cædmon's, who is credited at about the same date with mingling Christian and English elements in his verse. Aldhelm is more copious and more lettered, and (perhaps unlike Cædmon) understudied. Cædmon was never so fine.

3

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

There already exist several studies of various aspects of Aldhelm's hexameter verse composition.¹ But the question of the ultimate models for Aldhelm's highly idiosyncratic manner of verse-composition has been rarely, or only tentatively, addressed. The possibility of vernacular poetic influence is occasionally raised, but the evidence presented so far is ambiguous or unclear.² Even the matter of Aldhelm's Latin poetic sources requires fresh attention, since the question of what constitutes common non-classical usage is still unsettled. In addressing in turn such issues as prosody, elision, hiatus, metrics, line-structure and use of repeated metrical formulae, it will be helpful in each case to seek Latin models from those poets that Aldhelm can be shown to have read; only where there are no clear parallels amongst such authors will we be compelled to look elsewhere, to other Latin texts and even, ultimately, to vernacular sources. The breadth of reference is therefore necessarily great; the clearest result of the following study is to confirm just how remarkable Aldhelm was in his Latin hexameter verse style: there never was another like him.

¹ See Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 211–17 and *Poetic Works*, pp. 19–24. Ehwald's edition has a useful (if incomplete) metrical analysis, compiled by Karl Strecker, at pp. 754–5. Neil Wright contributes a translation of several of Aldhelm's writings on metrics, with introduction and notes, *Poetic Works*, pp. 183–219 and 263–8. Wright also has in preparation a detailed study of the Anglo-Latin hexameter.

² Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 217–29, and Bolton, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 75. For specific studies, see, for example, Baesecke, *Das lateinisch-althochdeutsche Reimgebet*, pp. 12–13; Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina Rhythmica', pp. 12–18; and Schulze, 'Reimstrukturen im Offa-Preislied Aethilwalds', pp. 16–18.

PROSODY

The rules and theory of Latin prosody must have constituted the single most important obstacle to any Anglo-Saxon (indeed any non-native Latin speaker) attempting to compose metrical Latin verse. Strecker gives a lengthy (and by no means complete) list of anomalies in Aldhelm's prosody in his appendix to Ehwald's edition.³ Aldhelm's concern to transmit what he considered correct prosody to his peers is reflected in his *De pedum regulis*, where he compiles what is, in effect, 'the first metrical gradus composed for non-Latin speakers'.⁴

In questions of prosody,⁵ as in so much else, there is a certain regularity (not to say monotony) in Aldhelm's usage which contrasts sharply with that of other poets. Aldhelm seems to have aimed at a level of consistency in scanning his verse to which most late antique and medieval Latin authors did not aspire.⁶ Norberg, for example, states that 'Eugène de Tolède semble pouvoir allonger presque toutes les voyelles finales selon les besoins',⁷ whilst Campbell, discussing the practices of the later Anglo-Latin poet Aediluulf, notes that 'he does not exert himself to avoid all quantitative irregularities', and cites the following verses of Milo of Saint-Amand (who died soon after 870) as evidence of the then prevalent mood of indifference about metrical matters:

Ut potui cavi, ne mens errore sinistro
Devia tractaret; salva virtute fidei
Posthabui leges, ferulas et munia metri:

³ *Opera*, pp. 754–5.

⁴ The phrase is Wright's, *Poetic Works*, p. 189.

⁵ On prosody, see Müller, *De re metrica*, pp. 380–429; Munari, *M. Valerio: Bucoliche*, pp. lxiv–lxxiii. With regard to medieval practice, see Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 7–28. On individual poets, see *Opera*, pp. 754–5 (Aldhelm); Jaeger, *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, pp. 17–21 (Bede); Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. cvii–cix (Alcuin); *Dracontii Carmina*, ed. Vollmer, MGH, Auct. antiq. 14, pp. 441–3 (Dracontius); *Fortunati Carmina*, ed. Leo, MGH, Auct. antiq. 4.1, pp. 422–7 (Venantius Fortunatus); Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola*, pp. 107–27 (Paulinus of Nola); Campbell, 'Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse', pp. 10–20 (Bede, Aldhelm, Frithegod and Wulfstan); *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, ed. Campbell, pp. xli–xliv (Aediluulf).

⁶ See, for example, Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 6–18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

Non puto grande scelus, si sillaba longa brevisque
Altera in alterius dubia statione locetur.⁸

Most words in Aldhelm, however, have only a single scansion, generally that found in Classical authors, but occasionally an aberrant form easily paralleled in late antique or Christian Latin poets with whom Aldhelm was well acquainted. The only area in which Aldhelm allows himself a certain freedom is in the scansion of vowels which in Latin poetry of all ages have been *communes* (scanned either long or short); that is, those followed by consonant combinations of mute (*b, p, d, t, g* and *c*) and liquid (*l* and *r*).⁹ Ovid, for example, plays on both possible scansions of a single word in one line of his *Metamorphoses*:

Et primo similis volūcri, mox vera volūcris. (XIII.607)

Strecker's list of eleven words with variable medial vowel in Aldhelm may easily be extended, and is indeed misleading; such forms are frequent.¹⁰ To take a few further examples not noted by Strecker, we find *celēbrat* (2x) / *celēbrat* (1x); *librorum* (5x) / *librorum* (6x); *ludīra* (5x) / *ludīra* (1x); *pātris* (3x) / *pātris* (13x); *sācra* (5x) / *sācra* (12x).¹¹ Thus far, however, Aldhelm's practice is scarcely notable. But I would argue that Aldhelm, in common with several Late Latin grammarians, and with Bede, extends the device, counting all vowels *communes* not merely before combinations of mute and liquid, as above, but also before other consonant combinations, notably *sp*, *sc*, *st* and *z*.¹²

Strecker notes the following metrical anomalies in Aldhelm's verse: *cīsternis* (*CdV* 219), *rēstaurans* (*CdV* 317), *tēstantur* (*CdV* 323), *gēstat* (*CdV*

⁸ 'As much as I could, I took care that my distracted mind would not lead me into wrongful error; in the saving virtue of faith I have neglected the rules, tenets, guidelines of metre. I have not considered it a great crime if one syllable (long or short) is placed in a doubtful position instead of another'; quoted by Campbell, *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, p. xli. The quotation is from MGH, PLAC III, 674.

⁹ See Müller, *De Re Metrica*, pp. 380–90.

¹⁰ *Opera*, p. 755.

¹¹ *Celebrat*: *CdV* 678, 800 and 1675; *librorum*: *CE* IV.ix.2; *E* LXXXIX.5; *CdV* 55, 392, 1002, 1127, 1182, 1262, 1334, 2033 and 2150; *ludīra*: *CdV* 449, 806, 1713, 1922, 2549 and 2855; *patris*: *CE* II.5, II.28; *E* LXIII.5; *CdV* 34, 36, 310, 416, 672, 802, 1103, 1149, 1286, 1355, 1374, 1686 and 1706; *sacra*: *CE* I.18, II.7, III.58, IV.ii.4, IV.xi.5; *CdV* 175, 286, 383, 411, 486, 508, 529, 1032, 1101, 1131, 1453 and 1889.

¹² See, for example, Bede's section 'De communibus syllabis' in his *De arte metrica*, in *Beda Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, pp. 59–141, at 88–94.

611 2831), *gēstorum* (CdV 857), *gēstamina* (E XXIX.3), *rēstat* (CE IV.xii.22), *prīsci* (E P.18), *prīscorum* (CdV 2383), *scematīzans* (CdV 1857), *tēstudo* (E C.37), *nēsciat* (E IV.3), *nēsciret* (CdV 2295), and *rēscindens* (CdV 1920); I would add *crīstalli* (E C.58), and relocate here *Tūsciae* (CdV 2298) from another of Strecker's lists. Here the consonant combinations of *s*-groups have not caused lengthening of the preceding syllable as they would in other Latin poets, for example Vergil.¹³ In all other cases consonant combinations form metrically long syllables with the preceding vowel; long forms of all the words noted above are found, with the exception of *cristalli*, *gestamina*, *scematizans* and *rescindens*, which are hapax forms. The parallel with the situation of the *communes* vowels before consonant combinations of mute and liquid is clear. Such a parallel is made still more evident by a consideration of the effect on final vowels of consonant combinations beginning the following word. Strecker notes nineteen occasions where a naturally short final vowel is lengthened *metri gratia* before a combination of mute and liquid beginning the following word, as in these lines:

Nec tibi difficilē prorsus quicquam arbitror esse	CdV 53
Et liquidā crassis mutavit flumina guttis	CdV 902
Credula sed nostris pandē praecordia verbis	E XLI.2

I count a further twenty-four examples of this phenomenon, which occurs roughly once in every hundred of Aldhelm's lines; elsewhere, in the majority of cases, the vowel remains short.¹⁴ It is interesting to record that of only two examples of this phenomenon noted by Leo in his edition of the poems of Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–?609), one is from his *De virginitate* (*Carmina* VIII.iii), a poem which contains several verbal parallels with Aldhelm's own verse.¹⁵ Moreover Bede explicitly forbids such a licence in

¹³ Cf. forms of *testor*, *gesto*, *gestum*, *gestamen*, *resto*, *priscus*, *testudo*, *nescio* and *rescindo* which, along with all other words of similar form, are always scanned long by Vergil.

¹⁴ The forty-three lines containing this licence are: CE IV.i.34, IV.iv.8, IV.vii.17, IV.viii.13 and IV.xiii.3; E XX.3, XXXVII.3, XLII.2, LI.4, LXI.2, LXXXVII.7, LXXXI.1, LXXXII.6, LXXXVI.8, LXXXVII.3, C.6, C.13 and C.59; CdV 53, 133, 174, 220, 902, 1028, 1081, 1112, 1420, 1720, 1728, 1778, 1883, 2086, 2088, 2114, 2312, 2314, 2353, 2528, 2571, 2574, 2649, 2743 and 2804.

¹⁵ See *Fortunati Carmina*, ed. Leo, p. 426; for Aldhelm's use of Fortunatus in general, and of his *De virginitate* in particular, see Lapidge's appendix to R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', ASE 8 (1979), 279–95, at 287–95, esp. 288–9. See further below, pp. 191–5.

his *De arte metrica*, and reproaches Sergius for sanctioning its use.¹⁶ In this respect Aldhelm's idiosyncrasy is apparent.

When we turn to consider the position of short final vowels followed by words beginning with *sp-*, *sc-* and *st-*, we find similar results. Strecker's lists of such occurrences are partial and incomplete; I count approximately 120 cases where a notionally short vowel appears before such consonant combinations, of which only about one in eight is scanned long.¹⁷ Here then, as with short final vowels before mute and liquid consonant combinations beginning the following word, the lengthened form is distinctly the least common. The contrast with general Latin usage is striking. Winbolt stresses that 'Vergil is very careful not to use a vowel short before *sp*, *sc*, and *st*', whilst Norberg notes that certain authors (he cites Sedulius) uniformly lengthen short final vowels in these positions.¹⁸ Leo, in his metrical analysis of the extensive corpus of Venantius Fortunatus, records only twenty-five examples of short final vowels followed by initial *s*-groups in the next word, of which all but six are scanned long.¹⁹ In later Anglo-Latin verse, Aldhelm's predilection for the licence is shared by Alcuin.²⁰

Another relevant consideration pertaining to such *communes* syllables is the possibility of the correption (shortening) of notionally long final vowels before the appropriate consonant combinations. I can find no parallel for this development in the works of any other poets. The phenomenon in Aldhelm's work can be illustrated by listing the cases of correption in Aldhelm noted by Strecker, as follows:²¹

¹⁶ Bede, *De arte metrica*, in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, p. 88.

¹⁷ Vowels are lengthened in this position in the following lines: *CE* IV.vii.4; *E* XXVII.5, XLVIII.2 and LXV.5; *CdV* 20, 123, 377, 659, 229, 873, 1229, 1431, 1918 and 2500.

¹⁸ Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, p. 205; Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Fortunati Carmina*, ed. Leo, p. 426.

²⁰ See Alcuin, ed. Godman, p. cix.

²¹ *Opera*, p. 754. Strecker also includes the following lines in his list:

Cum mihi vita comes fuerit nihil aureā forma	<i>E</i> XIV.3
Protinus auferret solita clementiā Christi	<i>CdV</i> 2088
Cum pia trans pontum pulsaret cartā magistrum	<i>CdV</i> 2190
A quo florigera fraudatur vineā Naboth	<i>CdV</i> 2596

I should exclude these last three lines from consideration, since the forms in question can all clearly be construed as nominative (and therefore naturally short) forms; indeed Rosier in his translation in each case does so (*Poetic Works*, pp. 149, 151 and 160). Far from shortening of ablatival *-ā* in the noun in these lines, two (*CdV* 2088 and 2596) demonstrate the same lengthening of nominative *-ā* before consonant combinations of

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Nec non Iacobus Christi materterā cretus	CE IV.vii.1
Quatenus in requiem divina gratiā fretus	CE IV.xiii.6
Mox adamante Cypri praesente potentiā fraudor	E XXV.5
Pinguior, en, multo scrofarum axungiā glesco	E C.48
Insignem memorant virtutum teniā fretum	CdV 249
Quem Deus aethrali ditavit gratiā gratis	CdV 526
Excepto Zambri, qui tunc necromantiā fretus	CdV 578
Aut certe in vitro <re>splendens arvinā scrofae	CdV 918
Mox aliam genitor concinnans machinā scenam	CdV 1144
Dum bernam domini sperat necromantiā fretum	CdV 1202
Usquequō clarifici luxerunt lumina solis	CdV 1689
Crudelis tortor fundendō fluenta cruenta	CdV 2420
Usquequō promissae telluris regna capessit	CdV 2481
Qui semper tremulos tutatur gratiā gratis	CdV 2658
Ex hoc est vana praesertim gloriā fretus	CdV 2694

I add only the following:

Crudus athleta Dei Cyprianus fusō cruore	CdV 1880
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Such cases, quite apart from demonstrating a notable localization of such correption within the line to which I shall return below, all (surely significantly) occur before consonant combinations of mute and liquid or of *s-impura* of the sort which we have been discussing above.

Aldhelm, then, demonstrates comparative consistency in the application of his own idiosyncratic rules of prosody, being in this sense more regular than his peers. With regard to the *-ā* of the ablative of first declension nouns, for example, Norberg quotes a line from Isidore to show how certain authors (and he cites Aldhelm by name) shortened this final vowel *metri gratia*.²² In a similar vein Campbell (again citing Aldhelm as a parallel) notes that in Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* 'ablative *-ā* is shortened at will'.²³ But Aldhelm in his *De pedum regulis* specifically lists a number of words of particular metrical form to demonstrate that first declension ablatives in *-ā* are always long ('ad ostendendam primo declinationis in ablativo finalitatem, ubi semper producitur').²⁴ We have seen that such

mute and liquid discussed above (*solitā clementia* and *florigerā fraudatur*). The remaining example (*E XIV.3*) can also be construed as a nominative form, as Lapidge does in his translation (*Poetic Works*, p. 73).

²² *Introduction*, p. 9.

²³ *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, p. xlii.

²⁴ *Opera*, p. 185, line 9.

correction as is admitted by Aldhelm in his metrical verse can only occur in a limited number of prescribed circumstances.

In all matters of prosody, Aldhelm's regularity of usage contrasts sharply with the practice of his peers, and extends even to those words and forms where he departs from Classical norms. Strecker lists several words which admit a false quantity, but his list is not exhaustive.²⁵ The overwhelming majority of these words are found regularly only in this single erroneous form, and several are easily paralleled in the verse of previous poets. Consider, for example, a case not noted by Strecker, namely the word *statim*, which is elsewhere scanned as a *trochee* (*stātīm*), but appears only twice in Aldhelm (*E* LXII.4; *CdV* 555), both times scanned as a *spondee* (*stātīm*), presumably by analogy with *stāre*. Parallels for this scansion in the works of earlier poets are not numerous, but *stātīm* is found in the hexameter verses of Avitus (*Carmina* II.180), Dracontius (*Orestes* 708), and (twice) Venantius Fortunatus (*Vita Martini* IV.184 and IV.470).²⁶ Aldhelm elsewhere can clearly be shown to have been influenced by Fortunatus, who here seems to be the most plausible model.

It is this pronounced regularity in matters of prosody which sets Aldhelm apart from other medieval Latin poets. The same tendency towards uniformity in verse-structure and disposition of words is observed at all levels in the study of caesura-patterning, metrics, hiatus and elision, all treated below.

ELISION AND HIATUS

Elision is not a frequent feature of Aldhelm's Latin verse.²⁷ I count only 160 examples in the whole corpus of his hexameters; there are none at all in his octosyllables. This despite Aldhelm's evident theoretical interest in various forms of elision evidenced in his *De metris*, where, as Wright notes: 'By giving elision such prominence at the beginning of his treatise, Aldhelm stresses its importance, at least in scansion.'²⁸ But to attribute

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 754–5.

²⁶ For further examples, drawn from verse-forms other than the hexameter, see Munari, *M. Valerio: Bucolice*, p. lxviii. Alcuin (almost certainly influenced by Aldhelm) also scans *statim* with first syllable long; cf. Godman, *Alcuin*, p. cix.

²⁷ On elision, see Müller, *De Re Metrica*, pp. 279–379; Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 156–98; Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. cvii–cviii.

²⁸ *Poetic Works*, p. 185.

this reluctance to employ elision to the foreign nature of the concept is both to gloss over the extreme variations in usage by Latin poets of all times and backgrounds, and to blur Aldhelm's unique pattern of employment of the device.²⁹ Vergil, for example, employs an elision on average every two lines, Lucretius only slightly more frequently (every two-and-a-half lines); other poets arrange themselves in increasing order of frequency of use as follows: Ovid, Prudentius and Fortunatus (every three-and-a-half lines); Paulinus of Nola (every four lines); Juvenius (every four-and-a-half lines); Lucan (every six-and-a-half lines); Alcuin (every seven-and-a-half lines); Sedulius and Bede (every eight lines); Arator (every ten lines).³⁰ In sharp contrast, Aldhelm tends to employ elision only about every twenty-five lines, a figure considerably higher than that of almost every other comparable poet.³¹ It is still more striking to realize that Aldhelm's figures are inflated by his reliance on earlier poets. In several cases elision occurs in phrases which must have formed part of Aldhelm's remembered reading, or where Aldhelm is simply echoing an earlier author. So, for example, one four-line passage (*E* XC VII. 12–15) contains four elisions, all derived directly from the source (Vergil, *Aeneid* IV. 177 and IV. 181–3).

Nor are Aldhelm's few elisions evenly spread. There is certainly no suggestion that he is employing elision for the sort of descriptive or artistic effects favoured by other Latin poets, and the distribution of the licence is haphazard and baffling.³² At one point in the *Carmen de virginitate* (*CdV* 61–4) we find four consecutive lines containing elision, but no further examples for nearly seventy lines (*CdV* 130). In the same poem there is only one elision (*CdV* 1130) in the whole 138-line section from lines 1080 to 1217. There seems no particular rationale behind such usage of elision, and

²⁹ Cf. Lapidge, *Prose Works*, p. 22; 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 216–17.

³⁰ I have culled these figures from a number of sources. The figures for Vergil, Lucretius, Ovid and Lucan were taken from Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, p. 182; those for Alcuin have been extrapolated from the figures given by Godman, *Alcuin*, p. cvii. The Aldhelm figure refers to the whole hexameter corpus, the rest to 500-line samples analysed by myself. Figures for several of these poets are also to be found in Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola*, p. 110, which are drawn from his own samples of some 2,000 lines.

³¹ Claudian, however, is still more sparing in his use of elision (about every thirty-one lines).

³² See Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 179–81.

it may well be, as Lapidge suggests, that Aldhelm 'occasionally reminded himself of the need to employ it'.³³

Analysis of the forms of elision used by Aldhelm is also instructive, again underlining his idiosyncratic practice. *Aphaeresis*, the suppression in hiatus of the short initial syllable of *es* or *est*, is notably absent; I count only three examples in Aldhelm's works, compared with countless examples in Vergil, and some thirty-eight in Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, where Godman describes aphaeresis as a 'distinctive feature of Alcuin's metrical practice'.³⁴ It is included here with all other forms of elision since, as Wright notes: 'neither Aldhelm, nor his models, the Late Latin grammarians, distinguish between aphaeresis and elision proper'.³⁵ With respect to *apocope* (elision proper), Aldhelm himself in his *De metris* (DM 80) distinguishes *synaloepha* (the elision of a final vowel or diphthong) and *ecthlipsis* (the elision of a final syllable in *-m*). Of these, the latter is curiously frequent in Aldhelm's works. Perhaps the best illustration of this, and of the general character of elision in Aldhelm, is provided by a comparison with the usage in some passages from Vergil, who employs elision in ways much closer to those of the other cited poets. Winbolt has analysed 128 elisions from some 300 lines of Vergil; these may be compared with the 160 cases of elision found in the whole 4,170 lines of the Aldhelmian hexameter corpus.³⁶ Of the 128 Vergilian elisions, some seventy (= 54.69%) are *smooth* (apocope: elision of short vowels), thirty-one (= 24.22%) are *middle* (ecthlipsis: elision of vowel + *m*), and only twenty-seven (= 21.09%) are *harsh* (apocope: elision of long vowel or diphthong). By contrast, of the 160 Aldhelmian elisions, only thirty-three (= 20.63%) are smooth, no fewer than eighty-nine (= 55.63%) are middle, and thirty-eight (= 23.75%) are harsh. Such comparative reluctance to elide short syllables, and instead to focus on ecthlipsis of *-um*, *-am*, *-em* and *-im* (in that order), is difficult to parallel in Latin poetry from any period. Indeed, according to figures published by Green relating to elision in 2,000-line samples from eight Latin poets, Vergil's tendency

³³ *Poetic Works*, p. 22.

³⁴ *Alcuin*, p. cviii.

³⁵ *Poetic Works*, p. 265.

³⁶ See Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 182–6 for a fuller analysis of the figures from Vergil.

towards ecthipsis (less than half as frequently as Aldhelm) is considerably greater than that of any other poet measured.³⁷

Similarly idiosyncratic is Aldhelm's placing of elided syllables within the metrical framework of the line.³⁸ In a disproportionate number of cases elision occurs earlier than the main penthemimeral caesura (after two-and-a-half feet); I count only thirty-three cases (including the three cases of aphaeresis discussed above) where elision occurs later than the arsis of the fourth foot. In seventy-seven cases (= 48.13%), elision occurs before the arsis of the second foot, a remarkable proportion, unparalleled to my knowledge elsewhere.³⁹ By contrast, Aldhelm is notably sparing in his use of elision halfway through the resolved thesis of a foot; I count only three examples (*CdV* 827, 2056 and 2114).

In his practice of eliding monosyllables, Aldhelm is distinctly unclassical, but much closer to standard Late and Medieval Latin practice. I count twelve examples throughout Aldhelm's extant corpus, all in the *Carmen de virginitate*.⁴⁰ This compares with only twelve similar cases in the whole 12,000 lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work containing roughly as many elisions as there are extant Aldhelmian hexameters.⁴¹ Vergil is more frequent than Ovid in his elision of monosyllables, but, as in all Classical instances, few examples break 'Müller's rule' that 'long or middle monosyllables do not elide unless indeclinable or of irregular inflexion'.⁴² Over half the instances in Aldhelm contravene this rule, a situation easily paralleled in other non-Classical verse. Vollmer lists roughly thirty elided monosyllables in the poems of Dracontius, and Leo about forty-five in his edition of Fortunatus, of which a good proportion would offend Müller.⁴³ Of the examples listed for Fortunatus, all but eight occur at the beginning of the verse, a position occupied by only one of the 165 elided monosyllables in the whole Vergilian corpus (*Eclogues* III.48). Likewise of the ten

³⁷ See Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola*, pp. 108–10.

³⁸ See Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 172–5 for Classical Latin verse.

³⁹ Compare the comments of Lapidge and Wright in *Poetic Works*, pp. 22 and 264.

⁴⁰ *CdV* 61, 133, 141, 784, 996, 1036, 1816, 1902, 1955, 2028, 2073 and 2465. I include *CdV* 784 in this list rather tentatively, since it is rather a problematic line, and can be scanned a number of ways. See further Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', p. 139.

⁴¹ See further Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 177–9.

⁴² Quoted by Winbolt, *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴³ *Dracontii Carmina*, ed. Vollmer, MGH, Auct. antiq. 14, 442; *Fortunati Carmina*, ed. Leo, MGH, Auct. antiq. 4.1, 427.

elided monosyllables in Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, two begin the verse, whilst Jaager lists six similar cases in his edition of Bede's metrical Life of St Cuthbert.⁴⁴ Aldhelm's position in this respect is closer to the model of Fortunatus; all but four of the twelve examples of elided monosyllables in Aldhelm open the verse (*CdV* 133, 784, 2028 and 2073).

It may be concluded, therefore, that the general disposition and nature of Aldhelm's few elisions is not derived from any earlier model, and thus contrasts with the practice of other Latin poets, whose usage is in no case so idiosyncratic. Consider, for example, the comments of Strzelecki after a thorough analysis of elision in the Spanish poet Juvencus (*fl. c.* 330), an author familiar to Aldhelm, whose practice in this respect is quite typical of Late and Christian Latin verse. Strzelecki considers that 'non esse Iuvenum vatem artis suae conscium, sed unum e servili imitatorum pecore, optimos quaerentem auctores nihilque audentem nisi ea, quae ab his auctoribus saepissime sunt solita adhiberi'.⁴⁵ Clearly, however, Aldhelm did not run with this 'herd'.

Hiatus, by contrast, is perhaps best regarded as a failure of elision, and is fairly frequent in Aldhelm's hexameters; I count some twenty-two examples.⁴⁶ This represents only about one instance every 190 lines, but becomes significant when contrasted with the practice of other Latin hexameter poets.⁴⁷ Winbolt notes that 'the later epic poets from Ovid onwards studiously avoid hiatus, whilst the older poets from Ennius to Vergil admitted it as a conscious imitation of Homer'.⁴⁸ In a similar vein Campbell notes that Aediluulf 'practically eliminates hiatus',⁴⁹ and Jaager,

⁴⁴ For Alcuin, see Godman, *Alcuin*, p. cviii; for Bede, see *Bede's metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. Jaager, p. 20.

⁴⁵ L. Strzelecki, *Studia prosodiaca et metrica II. De synaloephae apud Iuvenum usu*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału filologicznego 68.3 (Cracow, 1949), 14–40, at 40: 'Juvencus was not a poet conscious of his own art, but one of a servile herd of imitators, looking for the best authors, and daring nothing except what most often is accustomed to be maintained in those authors.' Cf. A. Longpré, 'Aspects de métrique et de prosodie chez Juvencus', *Phoenix* 29 (1975), 128–38, at 130.

⁴⁶ *CE* IV.iv.9 and IV.viii.8; *E P.* 25, XLII.3, XLIV.8 and LXVI.4; *CdV* 20, 33, 272, 285, 543, 633, 853, 901, 1455, 1460, 1924, 1927, 1976, 2173, 2391 and 2899

⁴⁷ See Müller, *De Re Metrica*, pp. 327–79; ; Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 195–7. On medieval practice, see particularly Norberg, *Introduction*, pp. 32–4.

⁴⁸ *Latin Hexameter Verse*, p. 195.

⁴⁹ *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, p. 43.

in his edition of Bede's metrical Life of St Cuthbert, succinctly states that 'Hiat wird durchweg gemieden.'⁵⁰

Of the twenty-two examples of hiatus noted in Aldhelm, some seventeen (= 77.27%) derive from failure to elide before *b*-. One might note that of some twenty-four instances in Aldhelm where a word beginning in *b*- is in a position which may potentially cause elision, only seven in fact do so (= 29.17%).⁵¹ This despite the fact that several quoted examples of elision in the *De metris* explicitly concern elision before *b*- (*DM* 80). Of further interest is the fact that in only six cases (= 27.27%) is the failed elision of a final syllable in a vowel + *m*, a form of elision shown above to be the most common in Aldhelm's work.⁵² In all these cases, hiatus seems quite strictly localized within the verse and generally (given the number of examples to the contrary) unintentional, exposing flaws in Aldhelm's compositional technique. Further clues to the nature of that technique are offered by Aldhelm's metrical methods.

METRICAL PATTERNING

The system of metrics which Aldhelm's prosody, elision and hiatus imply is, as noted above, highly idiosyncratic, yet clearly regularized. The *Carmina ecclesiastica*, *Enigmata* and *Carmen de virginitate* are each composed entirely in hexameters, divided (as the name implies) into six metrical

⁵⁰ *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. Jaager, p. 20.

⁵¹ The seven exceptions are found in the following verses: *E* LXXXVIII.3 and XCVII.13; *CdV* 586, 1617, 2028, 2534 and 2698.

⁵² The scansion of these syllables in *-m* in hiatus varies according to position. So we find:

Donec apostolicam hauserunt aure loquelam *CE* IV.viii.8

Cum his caelicolis, qui fausta sorte fruuntur *CdV* 2899

Here *b* seems to 'make position' (lengthen the preceding syllable, as a consonant would; cf. elsewhere *cuius hoc* (*CdV* IV.viii.18) and *hospes hospitibus* (*CdV* 2576)). But in the following examples the syllables in hiatus are lengthened in *thesis* and *arsis* respectively:

Altera nam cursat, quod numquam altera gessit *E* LXVI.4

Nam fontis laticem oleo pinguescere fecit *CdV* 901

In two further verses, the syllables in hiatus are not lengthened at all:

Summa dum exiguis non trano per aethera pennis *E* XLII.3

Postmodum et fato victus pice nigrior exsto *E* XLIV.8

There are no Late or Christian Latin parallels of which I am aware.

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Table 4. *The distribution of metrical patterns in Aldhelm's hexameter verse*

Pattern	Poem			Total	%
	CE	E	CdV		
DSSS	109	226	897	1232	29.54
DDSS	91	135	567	793	19.02
SDSS	78	82	387	547	13.12
SSSS	56	66	408	530	12.71
DSDS	20	62	161	243	5.83
DDDS	13	42	89	144	3.45
DSSD	14	38	85	137	3.29
SDDS	8	32	71	111	2.66
SSDS	9	20	75	104	2.49
DDSD	6	19	50	75	1.80
SDSD	4	17	47	68	1.63
SSSD	9	10	37	56	1.34
DSDD	4	19	26	49	1.18
DDDD	3	24	15	42	1.01
SSDD	3	6	11	20	0.48
SDDD	1	3	15	19	0.46
Total	428	801	2941	4170	100.01

feet.⁵³ Of these the sixth is scanned either as a *spondee* (˘ ˘) or *trochee* (˘ ˘); the last syllable is therefore variable, and is said to be *anceps* ('two-headed'). The other five feet may each be either a *dactyl* (˘ ˘ ˘) or a *spondee* (˘ ˘), although Aldhelm (and Bede) explicitly forbids the use of a spondee in the fifth foot.⁵⁴ This leaves only the first four feet variable and, if we designate each dactyl as D and each spondee as S, only the following sixteen (= 2⁴) patterns are in theory possible:

SSSS	DSSS	DSSD	DSDD
SSSD	SSDD	DSDS	DDSD

⁵³ See Halporn, Ostwald, Rosenmeyer and Hanning, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry*, pp. 67–71. Wright provides a good simple introduction to the metre, in *Poetic Works*, pp. 184–6.

⁵⁴ For Aldhelm, see *Opera*, p. 83, from the *De metris*; for Bede, see his *De arte metrica*, in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, pp. 109, 124–5 and 129.

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SSDS	SDSD	DDSS	DDDS
SDSS	SDDS	SDDD	DDDD

The actual distribution of the sixteen potential hexameter patterns in Aldhelm's work is given in Table 4.

The most apparent feature is the top-heavy layout of the table. The most popular pattern in Aldhelm (DSSS) is found in 1,232 lines in total (= 29.54%), a proportion far exceeding that in any Latin poet analysed.⁵⁵ The most popular pattern in Vergil's *Aeneid* (again DSSS) constitutes only 14.39% of the total, and figures across the whole range of Latin poetry are of the same order. Thus the most popular pattern constitutes some 13.08% in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (here DSDS), 16.24% in Statius's *Thebaid* (DSDS), 18.06% in Corippus (DSDS), 15.28% in Juvenecus (DSSS), 15.72% in Sedulius (DSDS), 16.19% in Arator (DSDS), and only 12.82% in Paulinus of Nola (DSDS).

Aldhelm's idiosyncratic metrical usage is further apparent when measured against that of earlier Latin hexameter poets on a number of other criteria. Duckworth employs several further measures in his detailed analysis; he lists not only the percentage of the total occupied by the first four and first eight patterns, but also the variety of patterns found in sixteen-line units of verse.⁵⁶ With respect to the latter, two figures are offered, one giving the average number of patterns per sixteen-line unit, the other giving the percentage of such units employing eight patterns or more. I have analysed 181 such sixteen-line units in Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*,⁵⁷ figures for Aldhelm, and for all the poets mentioned above, with respect to all these criteria for homogeneity, are given in Table 5.

Aldhelm far surpasses all the Latin poets measured here in monotony of metrical patterning, employing his four most favoured patterns in about three-quarters of his lines, and demonstrating little metrical variety in each

⁵⁵ The most thorough analysis of hexameter poets, spanning several centuries, is to be found in Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*; see particularly the summarizing tables on pp. 156–8. See too, Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola*, pp. 96–127; M. V. Drobisch, 'Ein statistischer Versuch über die Formen des lateinischen Hexameters', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Classe* 18 (1866), 73–139; and Drobisch, 'Weitere Untersuchungen über die Formen des Hexameters des Vergil, Horaz und Homer', *ibid.* 20 (1868), 16–53.

⁵⁶ See *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, pp. 9–11.

⁵⁷ The length of the individual *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *Enigmata* renders a similar survey in their case pointless.

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Table 5. *Metrical homogeneity in some Latin hexameter poets*

Poet/Poem	% 1st four patterns	% 1st eight patterns	Patterns per unit	% Units with eight+ patterns
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	46.95	72.78	9.4	92.46
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	48.37	81.62	8.9	86.39
Statius, <i>Thebaid</i>	48.90	74.26	8.9	87.43
Corippus	58.50	81.53	8.5	77.63
Juvencus	48.89	76.85	9.0	84.69
Sedulius	48.07	75.37	9.0	88.06
Arator	49.77	76.56	8.9	83.58
Paulinus of Nola	43.05	69.96	9.4	88.71
Aldhelm, <i>CE</i>	74.55	91.12	–	–
Aldhelm, <i>E</i>	63.55	85.27	–	–
Aldhelm, <i>CdV</i>	76.81	90.75	6.8	29.51

sixteen-line unit. More than one in eight of these units in Aldhelm contains only five patterns or less, whilst few poets in Latin can match the metrical monotony of the following sixteen-line unit (*CdV* 732–47), comprising almost the entire passage devoted to Basil, which contains only three metrical patterns throughout:⁵⁸

A qua processit libratae normula vitae	(SSSS)
Vergere quae nullum laxat sub pondere scaevo	(DSSS)
Trutinat electos sed iustae lance libellae	(DSSS)
Alternis vicibus reddens oracula sanctis	(SDSS)
Qualiter ornetur verax concordia fratrum	(DSSS)
Et iustae iugiter fulgescant foedera mentis	(SDSS)
Necnon diserto digessit fame librum	(SSSS)
Prima creaturam pendentem semina rerum	(DSSS)
Qualiter aeternus plasmaret saecula rector	(DSSS)
Atque potentatu quadratum conderet orbem	(DSSS)
Materiam mundi discernens ordine recto	(DSSS)
Aurea devexi dum format sidera caeli	(DSSS)
Hinc nobis oritur mundi nascentis origo	(SDSS)

⁵⁸ Cf. Lapidge, *Poetic Works*, pp. 21–2.

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Cuderet ut summus rerum molimina princeps (DSSS)

Hic se virgineum prodit servasse pudorem (SDSS)

Taliter affirmans perfecto fame praesul (DSSS)

Furthermore, I have been able to find only six sixteen-line units in Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* (a figure of roughly 3%) in which there are ten or more different metrical patterns; no single unit contains more than eleven patterns.⁵⁹ Yet metrically varied units are commonplace throughout the rest of Latin hexameter poetry, and Duckworth notes of the *Aeneid* that 'only nine such sixteen-line units have fewer than seven patterns, whereas eleven units have as many as thirteen patterns in each'.⁶⁰

A further striking feature of the figures in Table 5 above is the apparent disparity at every point between the results from Aldhelm's *Enigmata* on the one hand, and those from his *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *Carmen de virginitate* on the other. The figures from the *Enigmata* differ significantly from the remarkably similar figures gleaned from the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *Carmen de virginitate*. Such disparity is confirmed by further investigation.

Altmann has devised a series of statistical tests to measure the homogeneity of metrical patterning in different hexameter texts and authors.⁶¹ By testing the distribution of metrical patterns in all three of Aldhelm's hexameter works against formulae devised by Altmann, it is possible to demonstrate that the *Enigmata*, *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *Carmen de virginitate* are not metrically homogeneous.⁶² Such calculations are quite

⁵⁹ CdV 40–55, 1772–87, 1900–15, 2108–23, 2140–55 and 2620–35.

⁶⁰ *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, p. 9.

⁶¹ See Altmann, 'The Homogeneity of Metric Patterns in Hexameter', pp. 137–42.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 140–2; I have applied Altmann's methods in three tests for homogeneity of metrical patterning in the following texts:

(1) The *Carmina ecclesiastica* and the *Enigmata*

(2) The *Enigmata* and the *Carmen de virginitate*

(3) The *Carmen de virginitate* and the *Carmina ecclesiastica*.

Applying Altman's relevant formulae to the figures from these texts we obtain the following results:

For test (1):

$$2I = 10444.685 + 17486.104 - 15897.358 - 11980.188 = 53.243$$
$$2I = 53.243 > 25.0 = \chi^2_{.05(15)}$$

Since 2I exceeds the expected level we conclude that the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and the *Enigmata* are not metrically homogeneous.

For test (2):

$$2I = 41793.694 + 61573.678 - 57687.37 - 45587.16 = 92.482$$

conclusive in demonstrating the different metrical texture of the *Enigmata*, although it should be stressed that there still remains a huge gap between this text and any other Latin verse analysed, and that the margins of difference between the metrics of the *Enigmata* and those of both the *Carmen de virginitate* and (in particular) the *Carmina ecclesiastica*, whilst significant, are not great. Aldhelm describes himself as 'inexperienced' in the verse prologue to the *Enigmata* (*rudis* E P.7), and in the course of the preceding *Epistola ad Acircium* says that the original purpose of the *Enigmata* was 'to exercise the first rudiments of his skill' (*prima ingenioli rudimenta exercitari* DM 76.6); Michael Lapidge has noted that such comments surely 'imply that the *Enigmata* are one of Aldhelm's earliest compositions, perhaps the earliest'.⁶³ It seems that in the *Enigmata* we have the first beginnings of a style later refined in the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and the *Carmen de virginitate*; we shall see that there are further stylistic differences which clearly distinguish the *Enigmata* on the one hand, and the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *Carmen de virginitate* on the other.

But whilst Aldhelm outdoes his Latin predecessors in sheer repetition of metrical patterning, he is quite unremarkable as to the distribution of his favoured metrical verse-types. It seems possible that Aldhelm was influenced in this matter by what he had read; certainly his distribution of verse-types shows striking similarities to that of Vergil and Juvencus.⁶⁴ Aldhelm shares seven of his first eight patterns with both these authors, and (in the case of Juvencus) these seven patterns occur in precisely the same order. Furthermore, it is interesting to consider the parallelism of disposition of these metrical verse-types in Aldhelm. Duckworth notes a tendency in Vergil for the most and least frequent verse-types to be structurally 'opposite'; thus SDDD is the opposite of DSSS, SSDD of DDSS, SDSD of DSDS, and so forth. He formulates a general rule that 'the

$$2I = 92.482 > 25.0 = \chi^2_{.05(15)}$$

Since 2I exceeds the expected level we conclude that the *Enigmata* and the *Carmen de virginitate* are *not* metrically homogeneous.

For test (3):

$$2I = 38156.658 + 54728.536 - 52163.23 - 40704.936 = 17.028$$

$$2I = 17.028 < 25.0 = \chi^2_{.05(15)}$$

Since 2I does not exceed the expected level we conclude that the *Carmen de virginitate* and the *Carmina ecclesiastica* are metrically homogeneous.

⁶³ *Poetic Works*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ Vergil's eight most favoured patterns are DSSS, DDSS, DSDS, SDSS, SSSS, DDDS, SSDS and SDDS; Juvencus's DSSS, DDSS, SDSS, SSSS, DSDS, SSDS, DSSD and SDDS.

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more frequent a pattern, the less frequent its opposite', and points out that many different poets adhere to this rule.⁶⁵ Aldhelm certainly shares this tendency; we find DSSS the most frequent pattern, SDDD (its opposite) the least, DDSS the second most frequent pattern, SSDD the second least frequent, and so on, with remarkable precision. Aldhelm's metrical patterning is certainly far from random, therefore; he seems to be composing after a more-or-less fixed pattern.

One further result of Aldhelm's relative lack of variety in the distribution of his metrical verse-types is his tendency to repeat a single pattern several times in consecutive lines. Duckworth notes that Vergil allows himself a maximum of four repeated patterns in succession, and indulges this licence only four times in the *Georgics* and only seven times in the whole course of the *Aeneid*.⁶⁶ Aldhelm, by contrast, is found to repeat the same verse-type up to six times in consecutive lines, and I count twenty passages in the *Carmen de virginitate* alone in which Aldhelm repeats a metrical pattern four times or more.⁶⁷ An examination of these passages reveals great monotony in Aldhelm's disposition of the words within the line. To quote only three such passages:

Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cetera capsis!
Quis poterit digne rerum misteria nosse (DSSS)
CdV 71-4

Arrius infaustus, ventris dum viscera foeda
Turpiter egessit ruptis extalibus ani,
Quae cava per criptas complebant antra latrinae.
Sanctus Alexander, missae solemnibus actis
Cum celebrarentur sacrae libamina mensae,
Aspicit infantum ponti per litora turmas (DSSS)
CdV 976-81

Mutos et mancos, claudos surdosque repertos,
Luscos ac strabos, qui torta luce fruuntur,

⁶⁵ Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry, p. 25.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁷ Such repeat-clusters are found in the following lines: CdV 71-4, 76-80, 167-80, 566-9, 739-43, 804-7, 847-50, 883-6, 976-81, 1085-8, 1160-3, 1436-9, 1452-5, 1556-60, 1894-7, 2028-31, 2281-4, 2406-9, 2519-22 and 2675-8.

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Blessos ac balbos, qui scaevis verba loquelis
Fantes corrumpunt et, quicquid debile fertur (SSSS)
CdV 1085–8

The second of these passages, in which the same pattern occurs six times in succession, can hardly be paralleled elsewhere in Latin; in Latin hexameter poetry, Duckworth can find only one similar passage, in Catullus, *Carmen* LXIV.99–104 (SDSS).⁶⁸ The last passage from the *Carmen de virginitate*, in particular, seems to demonstrate that this repetitious patterning was conscious and deliberate, enabling Aldhelm to generate series of lines with little or no structural difference. The first three lines of the first passage, each containing exactly five words of identical scansion, show a degree of parallelism of word-division (*caesura*-patterning) for which I can find no parallel in Latin verse of any period; moreover countless lines in Aldhelm share this same basic pattern.

There are indeed notably few patterns of word-division employed by Aldhelm, and analysis reveals a remarkably rigid verse-structure, by comparison with that found in any of his predecessors. Aldhelm, more strictly than any other Latin poet, seems to have considered the hexameter verse line as the sum of several smaller units (the metrical *cola* of the grammarians), and to have devised each line (itself generally end-stopped, and therefore self-contained) as a composite structure made up of a number of these self-contained *cola*. Several times in the course of his works he speaks of composition by *cola et commata*; and we are given a definition of the terms by Bede, who says in his *De arte metrica* that 'Ubi post duos pedes superest syllaba, comma dicitur; ubi post duos pedes nihil remanet, colon uocatur. Quae tamen nomina apud oratores indifferenter ponuntur, qui integram sententiam periodon apellant; partes autem eius cola et commata dicuntur.'⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, p. 136.

⁶⁹ 'When after two feet there is one syllable left, it is called a *comma*; when after two feet there is nothing left, it is called a *colon*. Orators, however, use these terms indifferently, and describe a complete sentence as a *periodos*, but its parts are called *cola* and *commata*'. The combination *cola et commata* is found in *DM* 76.12; *DPR* 155.1; *PdV* 232.24, 272.18 and 319.12; *CdV* 47 and 1442. For Bede's definition, largely derived from Pompeius, see his *De arte metrica*, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, p. 118.

[illegible]

Omnipotens	genitor	mundum	dicione gubernans	A2/B1/C1
Lucida	stelligeri	qui condis	culmina caeli	A1/B1/C2
Quas dicunt	Elicona	iugum	servare supernum	A2/B2/C1

The first point of interest to note from the table is that in every case Aldhelm is clearly seen to occupy an extreme position with respect to all other poets analysed. His favoured caesura is clearly B1, effectively splitting the line in two, and occurring in about 97.5% of his lines, a proportion measurably greater than in the verse of his predecessors. Of other poets analysed, only Alcuin approaches Aldhelm's rigidity in this respect, and he may well have been consciously influenced by the practice of his earlier compatriot. I count only nine examples of the weak B2 caesura in the first 500 lines of his *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* (only 1.8%). The figures for Arator and, to a lesser extent, Sedulius are also

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Table 6. *The occurrence of principal caesuras in some hexameter poets*

Poet	% of lines with this caesura					
	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Vergil	45.0	65.0	85.0	12.5	77.5	52.5
Juvenecus	47.5	60.0	95.0	5.0	72.5	50.0
Prudentius	45.0	52.5	85.0	15.0	72.5	57.5
Paulinus of Nola	42.5	60.0	82.5	17.5	65.0	62.5
Sedulius	35.0	55.0	70.0	30.0	77.5	52.5
Arator	37.5	55.0	57.5	42.5	72.5	65.0
Fortunatus	55.0	35.0	92.5	7.5	57.5	62.5
Aldhelm	55.0	50.0	97.5	2.5	42.5	67.5

notable in this respect; both prefer to employ the so-called feminine B2 caesura in well over a quarter of their lines. This caesura, which is the commoner in Greek, is comparatively rare in Latin; its popularity in Sedulius and (most notably) Arator, both poets well known to Aldhelm, is as intriguing as is Aldhelm's failure to follow two of his most-copied predecessors.⁷¹ Aldhelm's preference for a detached final cadence after the C2 caesura has already been noted by Lapidge, who also suggests that the separateness of this section of the line is often emphasized in Aldhelm by the use of internal alliteration.⁷²

By contrast, Aldhelm seems indifferent in the case of the A caesura, and indeed several verses have only a single word leading up to the main B1 caesura, and no main A caesura at all.⁷³ Other lines are found with similarly idiosyncratic caesura-patterning. The final cadence, for example, after the C2 caesura, is commonly composed of two words, as in all the examples quoted above, having a disyllable followed by a trisyllable or vice

⁷¹ Cf. Porter, 'The Early Greek Hexameter', pp. 10–16.

⁷² 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 221–2. So in the first one hundred lines of the *Carmen de virginitate* we find self-alliterating cadences at *CdV* 2, 6, 11, 28, 35, 44, 63, 65, 73 and 79. Aldhelm's model for such self-alliterating cadences may have been Vergil, whose fondness for this form has been noted by Cordier, *L'alliteration latine*, pp. 59–60. Again, however, Aldhelm seems to have used such self-contained cadences to a degree unmatched elsewhere.

⁷³ See, for example, *CE* IV.vii.7 and IV.xii.26; *CdV* 58, 312, 635, 944, 1816 and 2834.

versa. But Aldhelm sometimes ends lines with (one or more) monosyllables or (more commonly) polysyllabic forms.⁷⁴ Such endings are not of themselves particularly uncommon, being found in the works of almost all Latin poets; Godman, for example, notes a similar number of polysyllabic endings in Alcuin's poem on York.⁷⁵ But it is notable that the vast majority of these unconventional lines occur in the *Enigmata*, a work whose metrical oddities, by comparison with the rest of Aldhelm's works, have already been noted.⁷⁶

In the majority of his lines Aldhelm evidently prefers a combination of the C2 and (in particular) B1 caesuras to an extent unparalleled in earlier Latin verse. This can be related directly to Aldhelm's metrical preferences, for in selecting his first four favourite verse-types DSSS, DDSS, SDSS and SSSS in no less than 74.39% of his lines, he has left the second half of the line (after the main B1 caesura) as what Lapidge has described as 'a sort of fixed, invariable block'.⁷⁷ The gap between the main B1 and C2 caesuras is often filled with a single word, generally of metrical *molossus* form (- - -), and frequently a finite verb. So, for example, in the first fifty lines of the *Carmen de virginitate* we find the following:

Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina caeli	<i>CdV</i> 2
Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore virecta	<i>CdV</i> 4
Ut prius ex prosa laudabat littera castos	<i>CdV</i> 19
Sic modo heroica stipulentur carmina laudem	<i>CdV</i> 20
Sic patris et prolis dignetur spiritus almus	<i>CdV</i> 36
Proprietas ergo credatur nomine trino	<i>CdV</i> 40
Maiestas vero dicatur nomine simplo	<i>CdV</i> 41
Omnia regnando dispensat saecula simplex	<i>CdV</i> 44
En promissa novo scribantur carmina versu	<i>CdV</i> 45
Garrula virgineas depromat pagina laudes	<i>CdV</i> 46

⁷⁴ Monosyllabic endings are found in *CE* II.26 (= *CdV* 1704); *E P.* 12, P. 19 and LXVII.8; *CdV P.* 21, 556 and 1460. In every case but one (*E P.* 19) the final foot is composed of two monosyllables; in this exceptional example Aldhelm seems to have been influenced by Juvenius, who has a very similar monosyllabic ending on three occasions (III. 1, IV. 149 and IV. 586). Polysyllabic endings are found in *E P.* 26, IV. 1, XIII. 2, XXX. 2, XXX. 3, LVII. 1, LXXXIV. 3 and C. 47; *CdV* 325, *CdV* 2502 and 2699.

⁷⁵ *Alcuin*, p. cviii.

⁷⁶ In the case of quadrisyllabic endings, Aldhelm's practice in his *Enigmata* seems to have attracted imitators; Tatwine's *Enigmata* contain twelve examples of quadrisyllabic endings in only 213 verses.

⁷⁷ *Poetic Works*, p. 22.

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Colaue cum pedibus	<i>pergant</i> et commata ternis	<i>CdV 47</i>
Dactilus excepto	<i>decurrat</i> fine metrorum	<i>CdV 48</i>
Spondei quintam	<i>contemnat</i> sillaba partem	<i>CdV 49</i>
Ultima sic trochei	<i>concludat</i> littera versum	<i>CdV 50</i>

Such consistent localization of verbs and verbal forms, even when not scanned in precisely this way, suggests a degree of conscious syntactical (and metrical) patterning hard to match in any extant Latin poetry. Entire passages of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* share this characteristic patterning, as is clear from the following examples:

Omnia regnando	<i>dispensat</i> saecula simplex	
En promissa novo	<i>scribantur</i> carmina versu	
Garrula virgineas	<i>depromat</i> pagina laudes	
Colaue cum pedibus	<i>pergant</i> et commata ternis	
Dactilus excepto	<i>decurrat</i> fine metrorum	
Spondei quintam	<i>contemnat</i> sillaba partem	
Ultima sic trochei	<i>concludat</i> littera versum	
Extremus iugiter	<i>qui gaudet</i> calce teneri	
Sic ternis pedibus	<i>properent</i> epigrammata metri	<i>CdV 44–52</i>
Quamvis integritas	<i>ornetur</i> laude metrorum	
Atque pudicorum	<i>crebrescat</i> vita per aevum	
Non tamen aeterno	<i>fraudentur</i> munere Christi	
Qui concessa <i>colunt</i>	licitae conubia vitae	
Non ergo argenti	<i>squalescit</i> spreta libella	
Uncia bis senis	quam <i>pensat</i> lancibus aequa	
Quamvis auratis	<i>praecellat</i> fibula bullis	
Amplius aut certe	<i>flavescant</i> petala fulva	
Nec lanterna tibi	<i>vilescat</i> vitrea, virgo	<i>CdV 201–9</i>
Quae gelidae strictim	<i>nodabant</i> vincula mortis	
<i>Dedit</i> obtutum	caecorum lumina tangens	
Claudos firmatis	mox <i>iussit</i> pergere plantis	
Armoniam surdi	<i>sumpserunt</i> aure sonoram	
Necnon et muti	<i>solvebant</i> labra loquelis	
Sanatis manibus	<i>concessit</i> vivere mancos	
Atra venenorum	non <i>sensit</i> damna nigrorum	
Quamvis letiferos	<i>sorberet</i> faucibus haustus	<i>CdV 471–8</i>

It is striking that the same fixed localization of the verb is found in the first few lines of the idiosyncratic *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum et de iudicio Domini*, which Aldhelm on other grounds can be

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shown to have known,⁷⁸ but the pattern is in that poem scarcely sustained; a more intriguing parallel to Aldhelm's practice is to be found in the near-contemporary Hiberno-Latin *Hisperica famina*.⁷⁹ Certainly no two Latin texts are so inflexible in the use of the medial verb as the poetry of Aldhelm and the *Hisperica famina*. Given Aldhelm's formal debt to the Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic form, and his use of other Hiberno-Latin texts such as *Altus prosator* and (apparently) the work of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, the possibility that Aldhelm was influenced by the *Hisperica famina* in his fixed patterns of syntax must remain a possibility.⁸⁰ Unfortunately the dating of the *Hisperica famina* is far from clear; it is also possible that earlier scholars (such as Jenkinson) were right and that the debt runs the other way.⁸¹

The opening line of the A-text of the *Hisperica famina* ('ampla pectoralem suscitāt vernia cavernam') demonstrates a further level of syntactical patterning, in which two adjectives are separated by the (characteristic) medial verb from their respective nouns. But this is exactly the symmetrical structure of the so called 'golden line' of Latin hexameter verse; Bede himself advocates the use of such lines, which were considered a mark of

⁷⁸ The first eight lines of the *Carmen ad Flavianum Felicem* read as follows:

Qui mihi ruricolās | *optavi* | carmine musas
et vernis roseas | *titulavi* | floribus auras
aestivasque graves | *maturavi* | messis aristas
succidi tumidas | autumnī | vitibus uvas
et hiemis placidas | *laudavi* | semper olivas
atque modulatas | *exclusi* | fontibus undas
frondentisque va|go *cecini* | de gramine silvas
protinus aetherias | *modulabor* | luminis oris

On Aldhelm's knowledge of this poem, see further below, pp. 200–2.

⁷⁹ For the date and provenance of the *Hisperica Famina*, see *Hisperica Famina: the A-Text*, ed. Herren, pp. 32–44.

⁸⁰ On Hiberno-Latin octosyllables, see Herren, 'The Stress Systems', esp. pp. 69–76, supplemented by the discussion above, pp. 35–47; for Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, see the quotation in Aldhelm's letter to Heahfrith, *Opera*, p. 494, as well as Herren's discussion in *Prose Works*, p. 202, where he cites his own 'Some New Light on the Life of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 79 (1979), 29–71. For Aldhelm and the *Hisperica Famina*, see P. Grosjean, 'Confusa Caligo', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 35–85, especially 65 and 67, together with the rebuttal by Marenbon, 'Les sources du vocabulaire d'Aldhelm', pp. 75–9.

⁸¹ Cf. the remarks of F. J. H. Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina* (Cambridge, 1908), p. xix.

great skill.⁸² That the anonymous Irish authors of these peculiar pieces were much influenced by the structure of the golden line has been made clear by Michael Winterbottom, and has been attributed by Neil Wright to the direct influence of the poetry of Caelius Sedulius.⁸³ Sedulius was also well known to Aldhelm, of course, himself a frequent composer of the golden line. Wright lists thirty-one such lines in the 368 verses of the first book of Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*, and states that this represents 'a proportion far higher than in any other Late Latin Christian poet known to [him]'.⁸⁴ I count no less than twenty-four golden lines in the same number of verses from the beginning of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*.⁸⁵ Moreover, the same passage contains at least a further twenty-two verses closely modelled on the golden line form, demonstrating the huge importance of the pattern.⁸⁶ Not even Sedulius has a comparable number of 'near-golden' lines; once again it is the *Hisperica famina* which come closest to matching Aldhelm's fixed patterns of syntax.⁸⁷ Of course other poets also employ the golden-line pattern: it is frequent in the early works of Vergil, for example, but as Jackson Knight notes, he 'gradually repressed the golden line, making its structure looser and looser according to a detectable devolution'.⁸⁸ Aldhelm, by contrast, sticks close to the basic structure of the golden line, but alters it freely to suit his needs. Once again Aldhelm's practice is, by comparison with all other Latin hexameter poets, distinctly idiosyncratic.

⁸² See Bede's *De arte metrica*, in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, p. 113. On the golden line, see Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 219–24.

⁸³ Winterbottom, 'A Celtic Hyperbaton?', pp. 210–11; Wright, 'The *Hisperica Famina* and Caelius Sedulius', pp. 74–6.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76. W. B. Sedgwick, 'The *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter', *Speculum* 5 (1930), 49–76, has noted (at p. 50) that in the second book of Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae* there occur no less than nineteen golden lines in the last sixty verses, a proportion still greater than that found by Wright in the works of Sedulius.

⁸⁵ *CdV* 2, 4, 14, 18, 45, 46, 71, 95, 97, 112, 123, 149, 164, 173, 177, 182, 188, 221, 260, 278, 288, 289, 303 and 356.

⁸⁶ *CdV* 5, 20, 32, 49, 73, 131, 133, 138, 203, 206, 207, 214, 220, 236, 268, 271, 275, 283, 287, 298, 310 and 366.

⁸⁷ So in the *Hisperica Famina* the clearly derivative pattern adjective/ verb/ noun/ noun is very common; occurring no less than seven times within the first fifty lines of the A-text alone (lines 2, 18, 27, 32, 33, 42 and 43).

⁸⁸ W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 231; A. M. Young, 'Schematized Word Order in Vergil', *Classical Journal* 27 (1931–2), 515–22.

LEXICAL LOCALIZATION

It is still more striking to note that the localization of syntactical forms in Aldhelm's verse can be matched at the lexical level also. A word like *deus* ('god'), for example, which can be scanned both as an *iamb* (˘ ˘) and as a *pyrrhic* (˘ ˘), according to whether or not the following word begins with a consonant, can in theory be placed in ten different metrical positions in any given hexameter verse. In practice, the particular metrical patterns favoured by an author will limit the possibilities of position slightly, but Latin poets tend to vary word-position freely. Vergil, for example, frequently varies the localization of *deus* within the line, employing eight of the ten possible metrical positions in the *Aeneid* alone.⁸⁹ Identical freedom is exercised by Christian Latin poets also.⁹⁰ Aldhelm's practice, by contrast, seems deliberately restricted; of the thirty-six instances of *Deus* in Aldhelm's verse, all but three (= 91.66%) are placed before a vowel, diphthong or *h*, scanned as a pyrrhic, and restricted in all but three cases to a single position in the first foot of the line.⁹¹ Similarly extreme

⁸⁹ So, for example, the word *deus* occurs in a different metrical position in each of the following eight verses of the *Aeneid*: IV.574, V.841, V.854, VI.348, IX.185, X.424, X.773 and XII.677.

⁹⁰ So, for example, Juvencus uses the word *deus* in a different metrical position in each of the following six verses: I.30, I.61, I.100, I.142, I.647 and II.579.

⁹¹ The following represent all occurrences of the word *Deus* in Aldhelm's verse:

Quem <i>Deus</i> aeternis ornatum iure triumphis	CE IV.i.35
Quem <i>Deus</i> infidum caeli clamavit ab arce	CE IV.ii.5
Quem <i>Deus</i> Oceani lustrantem frustra phasello	CE IV.iii.4
Quem <i>Deus</i> electum signavit sorte superna	CE V.4
Sic, <i>Deus</i> , indignis tua gratis dona rependis	E P.9
Nam mihi versificum poterit <i>Deus</i> addere carmen	E P.14
Incipiam potiora, sui <i>Deus</i> arida servi	E P.29
Quo <i>Deus</i> et quo dura vocat Fortuna; sequamur	E VII.2
Cum <i>Deus</i> infandas iam plecteret aequore noxas	E LXIV.1
Dum <i>Deus</i> ex alto fraudaret munere claro	E LXXXV.5
Nam <i>Deus</i> ut propria mundum dicione gubernat	E C.7
Ni <i>Deus</i> aethrali summus qui regnat in arce	E C.12
Trinus in arce <i>Deus</i> , qui pollens saecula creavit	CdV P.3
Sic <i>Deus</i> horrida sanctos ulciscitur ira	CdV 296
Quem <i>Deus</i> ex uteri sacravit matrice mundum	CdV 307
Hunc <i>Deus</i> horrenda semper tutatur ab ira	CdV 359
Dum <i>Deus</i> ad herebi vagas descenderit umbras	CdV 455
Sed <i>Deus</i> excelsus, qui mutat corda reorum	CdV 489

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localization of forms is observed in the oblique cases also, and throughout almost the entire range of Aldhelm's verse vocabulary. The favoured position of individual forms is not entirely dictated by their metrical pattern; words which are scanned identically are localised in different positions. So, for example, we might compare the localization of both *aurea* and *frivola* (- ~ -) or *supplex* and *templi* (- - -); all occurrences of each form are noted:

<i>Aurea</i> contortis flavescent pallia filis	CE III.70
Cum mihi vita comes fuerit, nihil <i>aurea</i> forma	E XIV.3
<i>Aurea</i> dum fulvis flavescit bulla metallis	E LV.5
<i>Aurea</i> flammigeris praestat crepundia gemmis	CdV 188
<i>Aurea</i> caelorum penetrantem culmina vatem	CdV 268
<i>Aurea</i> hunc bombis nascentem bucula vatem	CdV 285
<i>Aurea</i> spernentes stolidi simulacra tyranni	CdV 369
<i>Aurea</i> per campos orarent idola regis	CdV 376
<i>Aurea</i> devexi dum format sidera caeli	CdV 743
<i>Aurea</i> cum glaucis quam comit lunula gemmis	CdV 1163
<i>Aurea</i> sternuntur fundo simulacra Minervae	CdV 1332
<i>Aurea</i> seu fulva quas ornant petala fronde	CdV 1341
<i>Aurea</i> gemmatae linquens crepundia pompae	CdV 1801

91 *cont.*

Quem <i>Deus</i> aethrali ditavit gratia gratis	CdV 526
Quanta <i>Deus</i> dederit devoto dona clienti	CdV 686
Quem <i>Deus</i> edocuit mundum servare pudorem	CdV 713
Quem <i>Deus</i> Ausoniae clemens indulserat auctor	CdV 845
Sic <i>Deus</i> in sanctis alma virtute triumphat	CdV 1405
Sic <i>Deus</i> omnipotens, qui cuncta latentia noscit	CdV 1606
Sic <i>Deus</i> omnipotens, quadrati conditor orbis	CdV 1678
Hanc <i>Deus</i> insontem, pius auxiliator egentum	CdV 1910
Ut numquam dicant gentes 'Ubi est <i>Deus</i> eorum'	CdV 1924
Sed <i>Deus</i> insontes qui semper iure triumphat	CdV 1960
Sed <i>Deus</i> aeterna defendit ab arce puellam	CdV 1997
Hanc <i>Deus</i> ubertim caelesti munere ditat	CdV 2026
Sic <i>Deus</i> auscultat devota mente rogantes	CdV 2049
Sed <i>Deus</i> integram satagens servare puellam	CdV 2069
Sic <i>Deus</i> omnipotens famulam protexit amantem	CdV 2107
Sed <i>Deus</i> ex alto, qui sanctos iure triumphat	CdV 2261
De qua nos salvare <i>Deus</i> dignetur ab arce	CdV 2665
Quem <i>Deus</i> a nostri detrudat pectoris antro	CdV 2865

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<i>Aurea</i> virgineo lucrantem regna pudore	CdV 1843
<i>Aurea</i> cum rubris offert crepundia gemmis	CdV 1934
<i>Aurea</i> caelestis largitur praemia regni	CdV 2005
<i>Aurea</i> virgineo lucrantem praemia voto	CdV 2027
<i>Aurea</i> tum propere penetrarat regna polorum	CdV 2160
<i>Aurea</i> purpureis calcant crepundia gemmis	CdV 2366
<i>Aurea</i> sic cupidus cumulans crepundia quaestu	CdV 2618

Irrita non referam verbis nec <i>frivola</i> fingam	E LXXVII.3
Cum constet verum fallant nec <i>frivola</i> mentem	E LXXXV.2
Et tamen infitians non retur <i>frivola</i> lector	E C.82
Plurima sed falsis finxissent <i>frivola</i> verbis	CdV 624
Conflagrem penitus, si fatu <i>frivola</i> fingam	CdV 930
Qui sacramentis concinnant <i>frivola</i> falsis	CdV 948
Infamare student fingentes <i>frivola</i> falsa	CdV 997
Falsa vetustarum calcavit <i>frivola</i> legum	CdV 1134
Importuna simul verborum <i>frivola</i> sontum	CdV 2668
O quam falsa latro spondebat <i>frivola</i> mendax	CdV 2687

Bugge construxit, <i>supplex</i> vernacula Christi	CE III.39
Ut <i>supplex</i> veterum oraret figmenta deorum	CdV 1052
Qua famulus Christi <i>supplex</i> oramina fudit	CdV 1348
Ut precibus martyr <i>supplex</i> cum voce poposcit	CdV 1392
Mox veneranda Dei <i>supplex</i> ut virgo poposcit	CdV 2412
Hos igitur pauper <i>supplex</i> obsecro patronos	CdV 2812

Hic celebranda rudis florescit gloria <i>templi</i>	CE I.1
Cui veneranda rudis sacrantur culmina <i>templi</i>	CE II.2
Congrua promamus subter testudine <i>templi</i>	CE III.53
Istam nempe diem, qua <i>templi</i> festa coruscant	CE III.59
Quod Christum populis scandens fastigia <i>templi</i>	CE IV.vii.6
Et potiora rudis sectatur culmina <i>templi</i>	CdV 562
Fatu defendens sacri vestibula <i>templi</i>	CdV 1045
Sed titubant <i>templi</i> tremibundis marmora crustis	CdV 1336

To some extent the localization is dictated by the combination of Aldhelm's metrical and syntactical practice; within the constraints of their metrical patterning, adjectives will tend to be positioned near the beginning of the verse, nouns at the end and verbs in the middle.

This highly idiosyncratic localization of forms is clearly a conscious and

deliberate aspect of Aldhelm's versification, and even apparently overrides metrical considerations. Convenient evidence of this can be seen in the following lines:

Donec aetheream miles migraret in aulam *CdV* 708

Donec aethralem felix migraret in arcem *CdV* 876

Tendit ad aeterna felix habitacula miles *CdV* 777

Quite apart from the general similarities of structure and semantic sense of these three lines, each contains a metrical solecism. Thus we find *Donēc* (twice) and *aeternā*, in circumstances for which there are (so far as I am aware) no parallel cases of similar lengthening in Aldhelm. The reason seems to lie in the extreme localization of forms of the words in question. Thus *donec* is found twenty-five times in Aldhelm's extant hexameter corpus, and in no less than twenty-three cases (= 92%) opens the verse, as here. In twenty cases (= 80%) *donec* is immediately followed by a word beginning with a consonant (and therefore scanned $\bar{ } ^{-}$); it seems possible that Aldhelm has nodded here, seduced by his own strict patterns of word-placement. Similarly consistent localization of the adjective *aeternus* immediately before the main caesura seems to have led Aldhelm into an error of scansion of *aeternā* here (*CdV* 777).⁹² No Latin poet, to my knowledge, practises a

⁹² The adjective *aeternus* is found in Aldhelm's metrical verse as follows:

Sed Deus <i>aeterna</i> defendit ab arce puellam	<i>CdV</i> 1997
Ianitor <i>aeternae</i> recludens limina vitae	<i>CE</i> IV.i.3
Quae caput <i>aeterni</i> praecingit stemmate regis	<i>CdV</i> 154
Ivit ad <i>aeterni</i> castus consortia regni	<i>CdV</i> 795
Ferret ad <i>aeterni</i> ductor vestigia regni	<i>CdV</i> 847
Quem Deus <i>aeternis</i> ornatum iure triumphis	<i>CE</i> IV.i.35
Disponis moderans <i>aeternis</i> legibus illud	<i>E</i> P.3
Conditor, <i>aeternis</i> fulcit qui saecula columnis	<i>E</i> C.1
Imbribus <i>aeternis</i> sitiens ingurgitat alvum	<i>CdV</i> 463
Non tamen <i>aeterno</i> fraudantur munere Christi	<i>CdV</i> 203
Fecerit <i>aeterno</i> disponens saecula nutu	<i>CdV</i> 674
<i>Aeterno</i> regi regum, qui regnat in aevum	<i>CdV</i> 2877
Ducit ad <i>aeternum</i> caelesti remige regnum	<i>CE</i> IV.i.10
Credidit <i>aeternum</i> salvantem saecula regem	<i>CE</i> IV.iii.7
Arbiter <i>aeternum</i> mihi iam miserescat in aevum	<i>CdV</i> 2877
Arbiter <i>aeternus</i> quem iussit scandere bigis	<i>CdV</i> 267
Qualiter <i>aeternus</i> plasmaret saecula rector	<i>CdV</i> 740
Arbiter <i>aeternus</i> dum sontum crimina punit	<i>CdV</i> 969
Mox sator <i>aeternus</i> , qui sanctos iure triumphat	<i>CdV</i> 1119
Deleat <i>aeternus</i> , caelorum gloria, Christus	<i>CdV</i> 2825

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comparable restriction not simply of syntax, but of lexical localization of metrical word-types; once again the idiosyncrasy of Aldhelm's hexameter verse style cannot be too highly stressed.

A germane study of the localization of metrical word-types in *Greek* hexameters, however, has been carried out by O'Neill.⁹³ His analysis, conducted with reference to 48,431 words contained in 7,152 hexameters from seven different texts, including Homer, Hesiod and the Alexandrians leads to some intriguing conclusions. As O'Neill notes:

In every word-type except $\bar{\text{—}}$, $\bar{\text{—}}$, and $\bar{\text{—}}$ $\bar{\text{—}}$ we find that the vast majority of the words used are concentrated in but a few of their possible positions. In a large number of these positions no words are found at all. In many others the occurrences are so rare as to constitute less than one per cent of the totals. On the positive side, we find that in many types the total, or very nearly the total, is concentrated in a single position. In the great majority of the types such a concentration is spread over two positions. Only a few types occur in three, and only one in more than three, positions.⁹⁴

Illustrations for this practice are to be found on every page of any concordance to Homer, whilst for the late Greek hexameter poets, we may compare the results collated by Wifstrand with respect to the forty-eight book *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus.⁹⁵ That Aldhelm was directly influenced by the practice of Homer or Hesiod is, of course, out of the question, but again helps to put into perspective Aldhelm's unique position within the Latin tradition. It is more fruitful to pursue these Greek parallels in a wider context.

FORMULAIC REPETITION

It is curious that O'Neill, writing in 1942, makes no mention of Parry's pioneering work, published from 1923 onwards, on the use of 'oral formulae' in Homer, for his research provides excellent evidence for the sort of fixed metrical patterning which Parry believed to be mandatory in verse

⁹³ O'Neill, 'The Localization of Metrical Word-Types in the Greek Hexameter', esp. pp. 138–59, providing thirty-eight summarizing tables.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹⁵ A. S. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos: Metrisch-stilistische Untersuchungen zur späteren griechischen Epik und zu verwandten Gedichtgattungen*, Skrifter udgivna av vetenskaps-societen i Lund 16 (Lund, 1933), 4–7.

composed within an oral tradition.⁹⁶ Porter, building on the researches of O'Neill, went on to demonstrate a remarkably rigid set of metrical *cola* by a few main caesuras in the early Greek hexameter, for which Latin verse (except, again, Aldhelm) has no real parallel, and it was left to Peabody to demonstrate the importance of both these factors in highlighting the oral background of early Greek verse.⁹⁷

Parry's own contribution to the recognition of oral style was in the identification of repeated metrical formulae in the hexameters of Homer.⁹⁸ Parry gave the classic definition of the formula as 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea', and stressed the extreme tendency in Homer (and in later oral poets) persistently to repeat formulae.⁹⁹ Aldhelm shares this tendency, to an extent unparalleled in Latin verse, as Michael Lapidge has demonstrated.¹⁰⁰ However the real extent of Aldhelm's debt to formulaic usage has previously been underestimated, and its nature misunderstood. I have investigated formulaic usage in a number of samples from Latin hexameter verse across several centuries in six extracts given below, modelled on Parry's now-classic analysis.¹⁰¹ In each extract parallel phrases are noted in italics when they occur elsewhere in the author's corpus. Only phrases of

⁹⁶ See A. Parry, 'Introduction', in his *The Making of Homeric Verse: the Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford, 1971), pp. ix–lxii.

⁹⁷ Porter, 'The Early Greek Hexameter'; Peabody, *The Winged Word*. Compare the following works by A. B. Lord: *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA, 1960); 'Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 84 (1953), 124–34; and 'Homer as Oral Poet', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967), 1–46.

⁹⁸ See his 'Studies on the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930), 73–147, repr. in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. by Parry, pp. 266–34, and 'Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932), 1–50, repr. in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, pp. 375–64. The astonishing proliferation of oral-formulaic studies in a number of languages can be gauged by considering the score or so bibliographies published. See now, J. M. Foley, ed., *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: an Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1985), which contains a useful historical overview of the subject on pp. 11–77.

⁹⁹ 'Homer and Homeric Style', p. 272.

¹⁰⁰ 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 223–31.

¹⁰¹ Parry, 'Homer and Homeric Style', pp. 118–21. For the application of the same analysis in an Anglo-Saxon context, cf. Magoun's analysis of the opening lines of *Beowulf*, 'The Oral-Formulaic Character', pp. 458–60.

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two words or more are noted; I have ignored those consisting of a monosyllabic preposition followed by a single noun or adjective, which can be considered a single metrical word.¹⁰² The first extract demonstrates repeated phraseology in Vergil's *Aeneid* (I. 1–25):¹⁰³

<i>Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris</i>	
<i>Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit</i>	
<i>Litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto</i>	
<i>Vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,</i>	
<i>Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem</i>	5
<i>Inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum</i>	
<i>Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.</i>	
<i>Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso</i>	
<i>Quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus</i>	
<i>Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores</i>	10
<i>Impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?</i>	
<i>Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrri tenuere coloni)</i>	
<i>Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe</i>	
<i>Ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli,</i>	
<i>Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam</i>	15
<i>Posthabita coluisse Samo. hic illius arma,</i>	
<i>Hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,</i>	
<i>Si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.</i>	
<i>Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci</i>	

¹⁰² Cf. Parry's comments in 'Homer and Homeric Style', pp. 84–5, n. 1.

¹⁰³ *Evidence*

- | | |
|--|----------|
| [1] <i>Arma virum</i> tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas | I.119 |
| <i>Hectori socii, Troiae quos</i> sorte suprema | V.190 |
| <i>Arma viros</i> sed castra fovere. huc turbidus atque huc | IX.57 |
| <i>Arma virumque</i> ferens; tum summa ipsius ab hasta | XI.747 |
| [4] <i>Consilium, et saevae</i> nutu <i>Iunonis</i> eunt res | VII.592 |
| [8] Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro <i>numine laeso</i> | II.183 |
| [9] Tunc <i>regina deum</i> caelo delapsa morantis | VII.620 |
| [12] <i>Urbs antiqua</i> ruit multos dominata per annos | II.363 |
| [14] Insula, <i>dives opum</i> Priami dum regna manebunt | II.22 |
| [15] Venimus: hic demum collectis <i>omnibus una</i> | II.743 |
| <i>Et tantum</i> superesse maris, vox <i>omnibus una</i> | V.616 |
| <i>Quam Iuno</i> his acuit verbis ac talia fatur | V.330 |
| [18] Heu, miserande puer, <i>si qua fata</i> aspera rumpas | VI.882 |
| [19] Venisse Aenean <i>Troiano sanguine</i> cretum | IV.191 |
| [23] Nec minus interea extremam <i>Saturnia bello</i> | VII.572 |
| [25] <i>Necdum etiam</i> geminos a tergo respicit anguis | VIII.697 |

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Audierat Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;	20
Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum	
Venturum excidio Libyae; sic volvere Parcas.	
Id metuens veterisque memor <i>Saturnia belli</i> ,	
Prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis –	
<i>Necdum etiam</i> causae irarum saevique dolores	25

Here only eleven of the first twenty-five verses (= 44%) of the *Aeneid* show any degree of formulaic phrasing, much of it at a level which may be described as subliminal and probably unintentional; such a pattern is typical in Latin hexameter verse. In the second extract, compare the opening verses of the poetic version of the gospels by Juvenius (*Liber evangeliorum* I. 1–25):¹⁰⁴

Rex fuit Herodes Iudaea in gente cruentus,	
Sub quo servator iusti templique sacerdos	
Zacharias, vicibus cui templum cura tueri	
<i>Digesto</i> instabat lectorum <i>ex ordine vatum</i> .	
Huius inhaerebat thalamis dignissima coniux.	5
Cura his ambobus parilis moderaminis aequi,	
Ambos adnexos <i>legis praecepta tenebant</i> .	
Nec fuit his suboles, iam tum vergentibus annis,	
Gratius ut donum iam desperantibus esset.	
<i>Sed cum forte</i> aditis arisque inferret odores	10
Zacharias, visus <i>caelo descendere aperto</i>	

¹⁰⁴ *Evidence*

[4] Inde domum remeat conpleto <i>ex ordine vates</i>	I.47
Hoc est, quod prisci cecinere <i>ex ordine vates</i>	I.122
Omnia quin fiant <i>digesto ex ordine vates</i>	I.489
[7] Pervulgata diu <i>legis praecepta tenetis</i>	I.548
[10] <i>Sed dum forte</i> novo capitum discussio censu	I.144
[11] Concurit et <i>caelo</i> lapsus <i>descendit aperto</i>	IV.746
[12] <i>Nuntius et soli</i> iussas perferre loquellas	IV.747
[14] Attoniti tremulo vibrabant <i>corda pavore</i>	III.105
Militibus primis quatiuntur <i>corda pavore</i>	IV.711
[15] Sponte fluens dabitur <i>sermonis gratia</i> vobis	II.465
Sed cui nostra fidem <i>sermonis gratia</i> figet	II.648
Perstringit populum <i>sermonis gratia</i> nostri	II.766
[18] <i>Praecipit et</i> placido doctor sermone profatur	III.399
<i>Praecipit et</i> rursum mercedis pacta reposcit	III.724
[19] Nunc tibi confiteor, genitor <i>cui gloria</i> servit	II.548
[24] Divino flatu scriptum est <i>Dominumque Deumque</i>	IV.49

The poetic art of Aldhelm

<i>Nuntius et soli iussas perferre loquellas</i> (<i>Cetera nam foribus tunc plebs adstrata rogabat</i>): Quem tibi terribilis concussit corde pavorem Visus, cum laeti sermonis gratia placat?	15
Nam me dimissum rerum pater unicus alto E caeli solio tibi nunc in verba venire <i>Praecipit et cara tibi mox e coniuge natum</i> Promittit, grandis rerum cui gloria restat, Plurima qui populis nascendo gaudia quaeret;	20
Sobrius aeternum, clausum quem Spiritus ipsis Visceribus matris complebit numine claro. Istius hic populi partem pleramque docendo Ad verum convertet iter, <i>Dominumque Deumque</i> Continuo primus noscet plebemque novabit.	25

Here only ten of the first twenty-five verses (= 40%) demonstrate partial parallels with a further sixteen of Juvencus's lines. A similar proportion of formulaic phrasing is found in all the Christian-Latin poets I have examined. The exception is Aldhelm. Consider the opening of the *Carmen de virginitate* (*CdV* 1–25):¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ *Evidence*

[1] Nam Deus ut propria mundum ditione gubernat Ni rerum genitor mundum sermone coercens Regibus exceptis, mundum qui iure gubernant	<i>E C.</i> 7 <i>E C.</i> 64 <i>CdV</i> 2067
[2] Pendula dum patuli vertuntur culmina caeli <i>Lucida stelligeri scandentes culmina caeli</i> <i>Limpida stelligeri scandentes culmina caeli</i>	<i>E C.</i> 3 <i>CdV</i> 1445 <i>CdV</i> 2816
[4] <i>Pallida purpureo</i> dum glescunt gramine rura <i>Pallida purpureo</i> restaurans membra colore	<i>E XLVII.</i> 3 <i>CdV</i> 1966
[5] <i>Sic quoque</i> flagrantem contempnens corpore nardum (<i>Sic quoque</i> also <i>CE IV.</i> vii. 31 and <i>IV.</i> xii. 20; <i>E XCI.</i> 10; <i>CdV</i> 183, 283, 367, 694, 827, 955, 1371, 1616, 1752, 1842, 2426, 2607, 2721 and 2858)	<i>CE IV.</i> vii. 13
Humida fluctivagi sacrantem caerulea ponti Siciliae tellus, quam vallant caerulea ponti	<i>CdV</i> 423 <i>CdV</i> 1736
[6] Sed clamante Deo luctantes litore limphas <i>Mergere</i> non quibat limpharum fluctibus atris Tum dicto citius spumantes litore limphas	<i>CE IV.</i> v. 7 <i>CdV</i> 1111 <i>CdV</i> 1473
[7] Tunc iterum nutu nimborum obstacula rupit	<i>CdV</i> 263
[9] Qui segetum glumas et laeti cespitis occas	<i>CdV</i> 225
[10] Tollit et in mundum Stygiis emersa latebris	<i>CdV</i> 2638
[11] Istam nempe diem, qua templi festa coruscant <i>Nempe</i> die festo laxantur frena rigoris	<i>CE III.</i> 59 <i>CdV</i> 1591

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

Omnipotens genitor mundum dicione gubernans,
 Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina caeli,
 Necnon telluris formans fundamina verbo,
 Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore virecta;
 Sic quoque fluctivagi refrenans caerulea ponti,
 Mergere nec valeant terrarum litora limphis,
 Sed tumidos frangant fluctus obstacula rupis,
 Arvorum gelido qui cultus fonte rigabis
 Et segetum glumas nimboris imbris auges;
 Qui latebras mundi geminato sidere demis:
 Nempe diem Titan et noctem Cynthia comit;
 Piscibus aequoreos qui campos pinguibus ornas
 Squamigeras formans in glauco gurgite turmas;
 Limpida praepetibus sic complens aera catervis,
 Garrula quae rostris resonantes cantica pipant
 Atque creatorem diversa voce fatentur:
 Da pius auxilium clemens, ut carmine possim
 Inclita sanctorum modulari gesta priorum,
 Ut prius ex prosa laudabat littera castos;
 Sic modo heroica stipulentur carmina laudem,
 Ut fasti seriem memini dixisse priorem
 Et dudum prompsit voto spondente libellus!
 Non rogo ruricolae versus et commata Musas
 Nec peto Castalidas metrorum cantica nimphas,
 Quas dicunt Elicona iugum servare supernum.

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------|
| [12] | Et maris aequoreos lustrabat remige campos | CE III.21 |
| | Non maris aequoreos lustrabam remige campos | E XCII.5 |
| [13] | Linea squamigeras extendens vincula turmas | CE IV.i.8 |
| | Et complere cavum cum glauco gurgite vitrum | CdV 912 |
| | Alveus ut Tiberis mersisset gurgite glauco | CdV 2333 |
| [14] | Limpida letiferis corrumpens aera venenis | CdV 2388 |
| [16] | Atque creatorem regnantem credere Christum | CdV 689 |
| [17] | Mox dedit auxilium clemens defensor egentum | CdV 1764 |
| [19] | Ut prius aequoreas captabat rete catervas | CE IV.i.7 |
| | Ut prius in strato truculentus imaginis altae | CdV 336 |
| | Ut prius angusto tendebat calle magister | CdV 1316 |
| [21] | Nos Athlante satas stolidi dixere priores | E VIII.1 |
| [23] | Colaue cum pedibus pergant et commata ternis | CdV 47 |
| [24] | Castalidas nimphas non clamo cantibus istuc | E P.10 |
| | Et psalmista canens metrorum cantica voce | E P.21 |

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Here the far greater reliance on formulaic phrasing may be gauged not simply by the fact that parts of some seventeen verses from this passage (= 68%) are repeated elsewhere, but also that metrical *cola* from these lines occur in fifty more of Aldhelm's hexameters. If we return to Vergil, it will be seen that of the thirteen recurring phrases in the passage noted, one (*arma virum*) appears in three other places, and one (*omnibus una*) twice more; the rest recur only once. We may therefore describe the mean rate of recurrence as 1.23 times. Similarly for Juvencus the mean rate of recurrence for a repeated phrase is 1.55 times. In this passage from the *Carmen de virginitate*, by contrast, the mean rate is 2.08 times. In other words Aldhelm repeats more phrases more often than any earlier Latin poet. Nor is the cited passage from the *Carmen de virginitate* untypical of this aspect of Aldhelm's poetic technique, which can be seen still more clearly in the fourth extract from the *Carmina ecclesiastica* (CE IV.viii):¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Evidence

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| [1] <i>Hic quoque poplitibus nec non et crure gemello</i> | CE IV.i.19 |
| <i>Hic quoque metrorum crebrescat laude per orbem</i> | CdV 2162 |
| [2] <i>Quem Deu aethrali ditavit gratia gratis</i> | CdV 526 |
| [3] <i>Barbara divinis convertens agmina dictis</i> | CE IV.iv.6 |
| <i>Coetus qui docuit gentiles dogma supernum</i> | CE IV.xi.3 |
| <i>Barbara convertens doctrinis agmina sacris</i> | CdV 502 |
| [4] <i>Edidit ex alvo salvantem saecula regem</i> | CE II.14 |
| <i>Credidit aeternum salvantem saecula regem</i> | CE IV.iii.7 |
| <i>Credidit extemplo salvantem saecula monarchum</i> | CE IV.vi.4 |
| <i>Credidit altithronum salvantem saecula regem</i> | CdV 1407 |
| <i>Edidit ex alvo salvantem saecula regem</i> | CdV 1692 |
| <i>Credidit altithronum salvantem saecula Christum</i> | CdV 1863 |
| [5] <i>Quae dudum in stratis signant arcana futura</i> | CdV 622 |
| <i>Qui dudum extiterat librorum tramite lector</i> | CdV 1002 |
| <i>Qua genus humanum tetra torpebat in orbe</i> | CdV 1688 |
| <i>Qua dudum occubuit scopulorum grandine vasta</i> | CdV 2601 |
| <i>Quae dudum steterant, septenis arcibus amplae</i> | CdV 2616 |
| [6] <i>Qui dominum lucis tenebroso negabant</i> | CdV 851 |
| [7] <i>Atque creaturae cerarum fluxus adinstar</i> | CE IV.xi.9 |
| [8] <i>Sanctus apostolicae cecinit dum sermo loquelae</i> | CdV 149 |
| <i>Crebrius hauriret si spurcas aure loquelas</i> | CdV 1939 |
| [9] <i>Limpida quadrato diffundens lumina templo</i> | CE III.68 |
| <i>Angustae lucis radios et lumina Phoebi</i> | E XXVI.2 |
| <i>Omnibus et regnis, qua lustrant lumina Phoebi</i> | CdV 775 |
| <i>Limpida dum tenebris clauduntur lumina tetris</i> | CdV 959 |
| [10] <i>Diluit aequoreis mergens in gurgite limphis</i> | CdV 410 |

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

*Hic quoque commemorat metrorum comma Philippum,
 Quem pius aethrali ditavit gratia Christus;
 Barbara qui docuit doctrinis agmina sacris
 Credere per Scythiam salvantem saecula Christum,
 Qui dudum tetra torpebant mortis in umbra* 5
*Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde negantes
 Atque creaturae famulantes ordine verso,
 Donec apostolicam hauserunt aure loquelam.
 Limpida perpetui cernentes lumina Phoebi
 Omnes certatim merguntur gurgite sacro* 10
*Flagitium sceleris purgantes fonte lavacri.
 Inde Asiam properat sanctis convertere biblis,
 Idola quae dudum decepta fraude colebat,
 Credula sed citius pandit praecordia Christo,
 Splendida discipuli dum fantis verba capessit.* 15
*Sic felix Asiae convertit dogmate regnum,
 In qua post obitum fatali sorte quiescit;
 Cuius hoc templum sacrata tuebitur ara.*

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| Purgatus maculis baptismi gurgite sacro | <i>CdV</i> 1540 |
| Omnes certatim, qui fanis tura litabant | <i>CdV</i> 1574 |
| Alveus ut Tiberis mersisset gurgite glauco | <i>CdV</i> 2333 |
| [11] <i>Flagitium sceleris baptismi diluit unda</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1136 |
| [12] <i>Eoas gentes almis convertere biblis</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.vi.14 |
| [13] <i>Daemonis horrendi decepta fraude colebant</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.iv.8 |
| <i>Idola quae coluit paganis dedita sacris</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.ix.3 |
| <i>Daria, quae dudum servabat numina Vestae</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1172 |
| <i>Cetera, quae dudum numeravimus, agmina septem</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2730 |
| [14] <i>Credula pandentes regi praecordia Christo</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.iii.12 |
| <i>Credula sed nostris pande praecordia verbis</i> | <i>E</i> XLI.2 |
| <i>Credula doctrinae spondent praecordia verbis</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1531 |
| <i>Credula virgineis pandentem pectora verbis</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1806 |
| <i>Credula si domino pandant praecordia Christo</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2393 |
| [15] <i>Quamlibet a nullo solandi verba capessant</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2050 |
| [16] <i>Primitus Hispanas convertit dogmate gentes</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.iv.5 |
| <i>Quatenus ad Christum convertat dogmate plures</i> | <i>CdV</i> 82 |
| <i>Septuaginta viros convertens dogmate clarum</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1221 |
| [17] <i>Exsurrecturum fatali fine quiescit</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.xii.26 |
| <i>Ut globulos fabricans tum fati sorte quiescam</i> | <i>E</i> XII.4 |
| <i>Denique post obitum signorum non vacat experts</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1768 |
| [18] <i>Hic simul Andreas templum tutabitur ara</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.iii.1 |
| <i>Cuius hoc templum veneranda tuebitur ara</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.ix.14 |
| <i>Cuius in hac aula sacra conservabitur ara</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.xi.5 |

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Here all eighteen lines (= 100%) demonstrate some degree of formulaic phrasing; the mean rate of recurrence of a repeated phrase is 1.74 times. That this technique of hexameter composition is peculiar to Aldhelm even amongst Anglo-Latin poets may be demonstrated by a final analysis of the fifth extract, the opening passage of Alcuin's poem on York (*Carmen* I. 1–25), since Alcuin was certainly very familiar with Aldhelm's work:¹⁰⁷

Christe deus, summi <i>virtus sapientia</i> patris, Vita, salus, hominum factor, renovator, amator, Unica lingua Dei, donorum tu dator alme, Munera da mentis, fragili da verba poetae	
Irrorans stolidum vivaci flumine pectus, Ut mea lingua queat de te tua dicere dona; Te sine nulla valet dignum quid dicere lingua.	5
<i>Vos quoque</i> suppliciter cives contestor Olympi, O sancti, populus fortis, gens diva Tonantis, <i>Victrices aquilas caeli</i> qui fertis <i>in arcem</i>	10
Æthereo regi regalia dona ferentes, Qui vestri causa sacratum sponte cruorem Fuderat in terris, ut vos salvaret ab umbris Inque Dei patris secum deduceret aulam!	
Mecum ferre pedes, vestris componite carmen Hoc precibus, patriae quoniam mens dicere laudes Et veteres cunas properat proferre parumper <i>Euboricae</i> raris praeclarae versibus <i>urbis</i> !	15
Hanc <i>Romana manus</i> muris et turribus altam Fundavit primo, comites sociosque laborum Indigenas tantum gentes adhibendo Britannas – Nam tunc Romanos <i>fecunda Britannia</i> reges Sustinuit, merito mundi qui sceptris regebant – Ut foret emporium terrae commune marisque Et fieret ducibus segura potentia regi	20 25

¹⁰⁷ Evidence

[1] Omnipotens patris <i>virtus, sapientia</i> Christus	XX.8
[8] <i>Vos quoque</i> convivae laudes, rogo, dicite Christo	C.6
[10] <i>Victrices aquilas</i> per regna ferebat ubique Sanguine qui roseo <i>caeli</i> penetravit <i>in arcem</i>	I.569 CIX.xvii.4
[18] <i>Euboricae</i> celsis etiam sub moenibus <i>urbis</i>	I.196
[19] Hinc <i>Romana manus</i> turbatis undique sceptris	I.38
[22] Quem tibi iam genuit <i>fecunda Britannia</i> mater	III.1 5

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

Only six verses (= 24%) share repeated metrical sections elsewhere in his poetic corpus; the mean rate of recurring phrases is exactly 1.00 times, and all are perhaps best regarded as fortuitous.

Clearly the technique of frequent metrical repetition of formulae from one's own verse is in Latin poetry particularly idiosyncratic of Aldhelm, and this despite the habit in Latin verse of all ages to quote constantly from the works of previous poets. Both Juvenecus and Alcuin, for example, make free with phrases from earlier verse, but are still notably reluctant to repeat persistently even such pirated selections. It is interesting to note, however, that two of the most substantial repeated phrases in the extract from Alcuin's verse considered above are probably best regarded as conscious literary echoes; *virtus sapientia* is found in Sedulius (*Carmen paschale* I.312), and *fecunda Britannia* in both Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmina* VIII.iii.155) and Aldhelm (*CdV* 878).

By contrast Aldhelm's Latin poetry can be seen as almost wholly cobbled together from a combination of repeated phrases, both borrowed and newly coined. This can be demonstrated by presenting the final extract, in which phrases clearly borrowed from the works of previous poets are indicated in addition to the 'Aldhelmian' phrases repeated in the *Carmen ecclesiasticum* (CE IV.viii) already analysed:¹⁰⁸

Hic quoque commemorat metrorum comma Philippum,
Quem pius aethrali ditavit gratia Christus;
Barbara qui docuit doctrinis agmina sacris
Credere per Scithiam salvantem saecula Christum,
Qui dudum tetra torpebant mortis in umbra 5
Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde negantes
Atque creaturae famulantes ordine verso,
Donec apostolicam hauserunt aure loquelam.
Limpida perpetui cernentes lumina Phoebi
Omnes certatim merguntur gurgite sacro 10

¹⁰⁸ The following phrases are found in the works of earlier poets: *gratia Christi* (CE IV.viii.2) is a commonplace (cf. Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* II, 457–60); *ditabit gratia Christi* (CE IV.viii.2) is found in Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* XVI.283; *mortis in umbra* (CE IV.viii.5) is found in Prosper of Aquitaine, *Carmen de ingratia* 650; *auctorem lucis* (CE IV.viii.6) is found in Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 701 and (as *auctor lucis*) in Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* V.151; *purgentur fonte lavacri* (CE IV.viii.11) is found in Prosper of Aquitaine, *Carmen de ingratia* 158; *deceptum fraude* (CE IV.viii.13) is found in Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata* LXII.3, and (as *deceptus fraude*) in Vergil, *Aeneid* V.851.

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*Flagitium sceleris purgantes fonte lavacri.
Inde Asiam properat sanctis convertere biblis,
Idola quae dudum decepta fraude colebat,
Credula sed citius pandit praecordia Christo,
Splendida discipuli dum fantis verba capessit.* 15
*Sic felix Asiae convertit dogmate regnum,
In qua post obitum fatali sorte quiescit;
Cuius hoc templum sacrata tuebitur ara.*

It will be clear that these borrowed phrases supplement the repeated diction to a significant degree. Indeed a great proportion of Aldhelm's verses can be shown in a similar way to be composed of a combination of repeated and remembered metrical sections.

ORAL TRADITION

But this is exactly the putative technique of oral poets, and is the method upon which all studies of oral and 'traditional' literature have focused. That Aldhelm's metrical technique stands comparison with that of supposed oral poets is best demonstrated by the systematic application of Peabody's 'five tests for orality', originally devised with reference to the hexameter compositions of Homer and Hesiod (and therefore peculiarly applicable to Aldhelm's Latin hexameters), and which provide comprehensive and objective indications of orality.¹⁰⁹

Peabody describes his first test as follows:

The *phonemic test* requires consistency in the patterns of language-sounds used by a singer; this consistency should not only be present in a singer's own compositions, it should also appear in songs of related provenance. This test examines redundancy in the use of sounds in a text. In oral styles, more redundancy is to be expected than in ordinary discourse; and it takes such forms as rhyme, alliteration, assonance, and much that it usually described as meter.¹¹⁰

That Aldhelm's hexameter verse does indeed demonstrate this level of 'redundancy in the use of sounds' may be seen in his extreme fondness for alliteration, a feature already noted. Ingeborg Schröbler argued that Aldhelm was influenced by the occasional alliterative pyrotechnics of Venantius Fortunatus, who in turn picked up the practice from long

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the approving comments of Renou, *A Key to Old Poems*, p. 53.

¹¹⁰ *The Winged Word*, pp. 3 and 30–65.

association with the (oral) poetry of the Franks.¹¹¹ But Michael Lapidge has shown that alliteration in Fortunatus is far from being as consistent a feature as in Aldhelm, and after a brief examination of alliterative effects in the works of Vergil, Juvenius, Sedulius, Arator and Fortunatus, he concludes that 'Aldhelm used much more alliteration than any author of hexameters before him.'¹¹² I count some degree of alliteration in roughly two-thirds of Aldhelm's hexameter verses. Illustrations of this tendency may be seen in any of the passages already quoted; we may also consider, for example, the following verses:

Ut sibi salvator vera cum voce *spopondit*,
Quando piscantem panda de puppe vocavit.
Qui ponti pedibus calcavit caerulea glauci CE IV.i.11–13

Inter credentes, *qui* Christum corde fatentur,
Et diffidentes, *qui* Christum fraude refutant CdV 1543–4

Martira cum roseis rubuit veneranda coronis
Candida virgineis florebat femina sertis
Cum qua martirii meruit vexilla cruenti
Crudus athleta Dei Cyprianus fuso cruore,
Sicque poli pariter scandeabant sidera sancti,
Ut praedira necis pariter tormenta tulerunt. CdV 1877–82

Et celsum quatiat clamoso carmine culmen CE III.49
Magnus de magno, de rerum regmine rector CdV P.29
Pallida purpureas ut gignit glareas gemmas CdV 164
Plurima pontificis pandens praeconia clari CdV 1035
Sic facula flammae formacis fomite friget CdV 1112
Haec falerata fuit facundis freta loquelis CdV 1166

Aldhelm's concern with 'redundancy of sounds' can be further demonstrated in his fondness for punning, parallelism and rhyme.¹¹³ The pervasive

¹¹¹ Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina Rhythmica', pp. 13 and 23.

¹¹² 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 218–23.

¹¹³ We may consider, for example, the following verses:

Quatenus ante diem, qui vitae lumina claudit,
Nec non ante diem, qui mortis limina pandit CdV 2820–1
Illius eloquio quae *fana profana* friabant CE IV.iii. 11
Sed Bartholomeus destruxit *fana profana* CE IV.ix.4
Nam paganorum destruxit *fana profana* CdV 690
Durius ut ferro foret ad tormenta *cruenta* CdV 1983

The poetic art of Aldhelm

nature of alliteration and sound-patterning in Aldhelm's verse is at a pitch hard to parallel in Latin verse from any period; we may fairly claim that Aldhelm gives very positive indications when measured by the terms of Peabody's phonemic test.

The second of Peabody's tests has been described as follows:

The *formulaic test* requires consistency in the patterns of word-forms used by a singer; this consistency should not only be present in a singer's own compositions, it should also appear in songs of related provenance. This test examines the structure and distribution of morphemic clusters in a text. In oral styles, the frequent repetition of phrases is to be expected.¹¹⁴

This is the earliest and best documented of all proposed tests of oral styles, based on Parry's earliest researches. Its relevance to the poetic techniques of Aldhelm has been investigated above, where it was demonstrated that Aldhelm is by far the most formulaic of Latin poets. Peabody also analyses the extreme localization of forms which this formulaic process implies, and my own investigations of Aldhelm's style detailed above again closely parallel the results which he gleaned from Homer and Hesiod. Peabody speaks further of 'colonic composition' in these authors, of the sort which we have shown to be an idiosyncratic feature of Aldhelm's technique for which earlier Latin poets are again unable to furnish any parallel.¹¹⁵

The third of Peabody's tests is defined as follows:

The *enjambement test* requires consistency in the patterns of syntactic periods used by a singer; this consistency should not only be present in a singer's own compositions, it should also appear in songs of related provenance. This test examines the complexity of syntactic periods in a text and the frequency with which these periods extend across metrical line breaks. In oral styles, such

Affer cuncta simul nobis <i>tormenta cruenta</i>	CdV 2310
Crudelis tortor fundendo <i>fluenta cruenta</i>	CdV 2420
Magnus de magno, de rerum <i>regmine rector</i>	CdV P.29
Quatenus, aethereum qui servat <i>regmine regnum</i>	CdV 2873
Quem rex extorrem, Romae qui <i>regna regebat</i>	CE IV.v. 12
Tum demum Augusti, qui Romae <i>regna regebat</i>	CdV 1243
Cum stolidi proceres, qui mundi <i>regna regebant</i>	CdV 1779
Impius Augustus, qui mundi <i>regna regebat</i>	CdV 2201

¹¹⁴ *The Winged Word*, pp. 3 and 66–117.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75–87.

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extensions are not expected to occur frequently; those that do are often syntactically unessential.¹¹⁶

Aldhelm's verse is significantly end-stopped in just the way postulated here. This gives his poetry a less fluent quality than other Latin verse, and is usually attributed to his lack of experience with the metre. The degree of end-stopping to be observed in all the passages quoted is remarkable and self-evident, and is confirmed by empirical investigation. Lapidge has noted that:

In the first one hundred lines of the *Carmen de virginitate*, ninety are end-stopped; in the first one hundred lines of the *Aeneid*, by contrast, only thirty-five are end-stopped (even Vergil had to end his sentences somewhere). The fact that nine out of ten lines in Aldhelm are end-stopped suggests that Aldhelm was able to think in terms of only one hexameter at a time. It is the mark of an inexperienced poet struggling to express himself in an unfamiliar medium.¹¹⁷

The conclusion that frequent end-stopping necessarily implies inexperience is unsafe, but Lapidge's figures neatly answer the questions implied by Peabody's test. We might also consider the syntactic 'thrill' in the use of the golden line pattern, and in particular the placing of the medial verb by Aldhelm, to indicate the sort of 'consistency in the patterns of syntactic periods' required by this test.

A fourth test is defined by Peabody as follows:

The *thematic test* requires consistency in the patterns of language-sounds used by a singer; this consistency should not only be present in a singer's own compositions, it should also appear in songs of related provenance. This test examines the associations and attractions among lexical elements that organize paragraphs or sections in a text. In oral styles, similar lexical clumps can be expected to appear in separate contexts and compositions.¹¹⁸

The extent to which Aldhelm's verse is informed by a thorough use of repeated formulae makes the repetition of 'similar lexical clumps' a commonplace. All Peabody's demonstrations of this phenomenon in Hesiod can be directly translated to Aldhelm with similarly positive results. Indeed, with Aldhelm we can go further, since we are able to compare this thematic repetition in the *Carmen de virginitate* with his

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 118–67.

¹¹⁷ 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 217.

¹¹⁸ *The Winged Word*, pp. 4 and 168–215.

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practice in the earlier prose version of the poem, and therefore gauge the extent to which Aldhelm regarded such repetition as a prerogative of verse. We might consider the thematic repetition of the words *flamma*, *fornax*, *fomes* and *rogus* (in that order) in the following passage, describing the martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian:

Nam truculenta ferox *flammarum* pabula torret
Et sarmentorum *fornacem fomite* farcit,
In quam flagrantem sacros detrudere iussit,
Ut *rogus* insontes prunarum torre cremaret
Artus, quos dudum turgescens gurgite pontus
Mergere non quibat limpharum fluctibus atris.
Sic facula *flammae fornacis fomite* friget,
Ut miles Christi neglecto turbine *flammae*
Redderet ingentes pro vita sospite grates,
Ceus salamandra focos solet insultare pyrarum,
Quamvis congerie glomeretur forte *rogorum* CdV 1106–16

Others of the many passages in the poem describing martyrdom by burning share similar lexical clusters, underlining the integrity of the theme. Compare the prose account (I have indicated vocabulary common to both prose and verse by italics):

Rursus *truculentus* praeses tam claro sanctorum tironum triumpho confusus et confutatus eosdem in clibanum plurimo *sarmentorum fomite* succensum et diversis stipitum titionibus crepitantem truciter trudi praecepit, ast illos velut *salamandras*, quas naturaliter *torrentes prunarum* globi assare vel *cremare* nequeunt, nequaquam flagrantis camini incendia combusserunt. PdV 276.15–19

What is striking here is that there is no such thematic repetition of phraseology; indeed Aldhelm seems to be striving here to give variation, with *clibanus* and *caminus*, where the verse simply repeats *fornax*. It seems reasonable to suppose that Aldhelm thought this type of repetition of lexical clusters to be required in verse, but not prose, thus furnishing exactly the sort of evidence which Peabody's test demands. In the same way we may consider the distribution of the ultimately biblical theme of the ravening wolf signifying the forces of evil. The theme is found in both prose and verse versions of the story of Babilas (PdV 274–5; CdV 1034–70), and is repeated (with associated lexical clusters) in the verse tales of Saul (Paul) of Tarsus (PdV 256–7; CdV 479–502), Paul the Hermit (PdV 265; CdV 774–97) and Athanasius (PdV 272–4; CdV 990–1033).

None of the prose versions contains the theme. Again, the common theme of nobility of birth adding to the pressure for a female virgin to wed is found in both prose and verse versions of the story of Julian (*PdV* 280–4; *CdV* 1251–449). It is found again in the verse tales of Lucia (*PdV* 293–4; *CdV* 1779–841), Eugenia (*PdV* 296–8; *CdV* 1883–925) and Anatolia and Victoria (*PdV* 308–10; *CdV* 2350–445), with no comparable counterpart in the prose. Such divergences between prose and verse again indicate Aldhelm's different attitudes to each.

Peabody's final test is described as follows:

The *song test* requires consistency in the patterns of discourse generated by a singer; this consistency should not only be present in a singer's own compositions, it should also appear in songs of related provenance. This test examines the structure and mode of large passages of text. In oral styles, the close repetition of entire compositions is to be expected.¹¹⁹

This test in particular is best suited to the analysis of songs from a living oral tradition, and it has generally proved difficult to produce satisfactory results from ancient verse in dead languages. The test measures the propensity of poets working in oral styles to repeat whole verses and passages from earlier poems within the tradition. Peabody speaks of 'the intrusion of remembered songs'.¹²⁰ Aldhelm proves remarkably well suited to this test. That Aldhelm frequently recycles his own verses has already been amply demonstrated above.¹²¹ Still more impressive is the

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 216–63.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹²¹ We might consider further, for example, the following verse-pairs:

Claviger aetherius, portam qui pandis in aethra	<i>CE</i> I.6
Claviger aethereus, qui portam pandit in aethra	<i>CE</i> IV.i.2
Magna supernarum meruit spectacula rerum	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.8
Magna futurarum meruit spectacula rerum	<i>CdV</i> 656
Dum crucis in patulo suspensus stipite martyr	<i>CE</i> IV.iii.14
Dum crucis in patulo suspensum stipite poenas	<i>CdV</i> 452
Credidit in Christum, caeli qui sceptrum gubernat	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.19
Credidit altithronum, caeli qui sceptrum gubernat	<i>CdV</i> 1173
Claruit idcirco celebri rumore per orbem	<i>CdV</i> 899
Claruit idcirco celebri rumore coruscans	<i>CdV</i> 1517
Credidit altithronum salvantem saecula regem	<i>CdV</i> 1407
Credidit altithronum salvantem saecula Christum	<i>CdV</i> 1863
Sic Deus omnipotens, qui cuncta latentia noscit	<i>CdV</i> 1606
Sed pater omnipotens, qui cuncta latentia noscit	<i>CdV</i> 1915

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repetition of larger units, and we find that, for example, the two passages *Carmina ecclesiastica* I.8–9 and *Carmina ecclesiastica* II.8–9 are clearly recycled, whilst the still longer passages *Carmina ecclesiastica* II.13–31 and *Carmen de virginitate* 1691–709 correspond verbatim. The best parallel for this sort of practice in hexameter verse is Homer; there is nothing similar in Latin. A further technique revealed by the song test is the manner in which Aldhelm incorporates by quotation whole verses and passages from previous poets. We may consider the following verses, where borrowed passages already signalled by Aldhelm are indicated in italics, and the source noted:

Psalm XVII.12

Ut quondam cecinit psalmorum carmine vates:

Ecce, latex rorat tenebrosus nubibus aeris

CE IV.ix.10–11

Vergil, *Aeneid* XII.677

Facundam constat quondam cecinisse poetam:

Quo Deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna: sequamur!

E VII.1–2

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* I.175

Unde puto dudum versu dixisse poetam:

Abluit in terris, quidquid deliquit in undis

E LXIII.6–7

Vergil, *Aeneid* IV.177 and IV.181–4

Vergilium constat carum cecinisse sororem:

Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit

Monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,

Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,

Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris;

Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbras

E XCVII.11–16

Vergil, *Aeneid* VII.641

Ut quondam argutus fertur dixisse poeta:

Pandite nunc Elicon, deae, cantusque movete!

CdV 29–30

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* I.219

Ut quondam vates cola cum commate prompsit:

Et didicere truces praedam servare leones

CdV 1442–3

The list may be extended somewhat, by considering several other passages where Aldhelm paraphrases scripture, and in particular reworks the Song of

Songs and the Psalms.¹²² In each case it is verse which is cited and introduced in a notably similar way, fully incorporating the borrowed verse into the fabric of Aldhelm's own. We might well describe Aldhelm as a man haunted by the 'intrusion of remembered songs'.

In introducing what is to date the most rigorous and systematic approach to the definition of oral verse, Peabody notes that:

The . . . set of tests determines the answer to one question: 'Is a given text a direct product of an oral tradition?' For the answer to this question to be, 'Yes,' positive indications must be found for each of the tests in this set. If some of the tests cannot be made because of the absence of material, the answer must remain moot to the degree that the testing remains incomplete. On the other hand, clearly negative results, even for a single test, must be taken to indicate that the text in question is not the direct product of an oral tradition.¹²³

We have found in Aldhelm 'positive indications' for each of these tests, and are therefore drawn to the conclusion that Aldhelm's verse is 'a direct product of an oral tradition'. This despite the incontrovertible fact that Aldhelm was literate, perhaps the most literate man of his day. Models for this 'oral' technique of verse composition are clearly absent from the Latin tradition; we must seek such models elsewhere.

THE TECHNIQUES OF VERNACULAR OLD ENGLISH VERSE

F. P. Magoun initiated a tendency to align Old English verse with other so-called 'oral-formulaic' poetry.¹²⁴ He attempted to apply the methods of analysis of the Parry-Lord school to vernacular poetry in Old English, and found that much of the verse was highly formulaic in structure. Unfortunately, in applying methods devised for hexameter verse to the Old English half-line, Magoun was forced into a number of compromises which have allowed other scholars to dissent from the burden of his article, namely that much Old English poetry is oral in style.¹²⁵ Larry Benson, for example, has

¹²² Cf. *CE* II. 18–28 (*CdV* 1696–1706); *CdV* 1924, 2105–6 and 2581–3.

¹²³ *The Winged Word*, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Magoun, 'The Oral-Formulaic Character', esp. pp. 466–7. Cf. Renou, *A Key to Old Poems*, pp. 51–5; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 7–8.

¹²⁵ The proliferation of articles and books on the application of the oral-formulaic theory to Old English easily leads to confusion. Fortunately there are now appearing a number of studies which attempt to put the developments and dissensions from Magoun's original restatement of the Parry-Lord theory in perspective. Particularly useful are J. M. Foley,

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demonstrated the high formulaic content of various Old English poems such as the *Lorica*, the *Phoenix* and the metrical *Psalms*, which are all translations and therefore in some sense clearly literary.¹²⁶ The resulting claims and counter-claims have caused the issue of orality to become hotly debated in contemporary Old English scholarship. Most recently Robert Creed has applied Peabody's five tests for orality to *Beowulf* with positive results, whilst Foley has stressed the possibility that in some Old English verse we may find literate poets consciously composing in the traditional oral style.¹²⁷

Michael Lapidge attempted to introduce Aldhelm into the controversy, noting of his formulaic methods of composition that 'In this and other matters Aldhelm would repay close attention by Old English scholars.'¹²⁸ It is, moreover, considerably easier and more valid to compare the technical aspects of composition of Homer and Aldhelm, both composing in hexameters, than those of Homer and (say) Cædmon or Cynewulf, when the latter pair compose in the traditional Germanic alliterative metre. Different standards apply. So, for example, Watts sums up her opposition to the comparison of Old English and ancient Greek when she complains that 'Rules for one will not fit the other. Any comparative investigation, whether of epithets or of other verbal arrangements finally ends not only in a recognition of the distinct characters of the two traditions of poetry but in uncertainty about the oral nature of Old English poetry.'¹²⁹ Although her criticisms have themselves not gone unchallenged, Watts highlights the unease many scholars feel in applying methods designed for Homer and Yugoslavian *guslari* to Old English verse. Again, as Watts has pointed out,

'The Oral Theory and Old English Poetry', in his introduction to *Oral Traditional Literature: a Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord*, ed. J. M. Foley (Columbus, OH, 1981), pp. 51–91; A. H. Olsen, 'Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: I', *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 548–606; 'Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: II', *Oral Tradition* 3 (1988), 138–90.

¹²⁶ Benson, 'The Literary Character', esp. pp. 339–41. Cf. Renoir, *A Key to Old Poems*, pp. 52–7, and my 'Crying Wolf', p. 259.

¹²⁷ Creed, 'The *Beowulf*-Poet: Master of Sound-Patterning', esp. pp. 195–205; J. M. Foley, 'Literary Art and Oral Tradition in Old English and Serbian Poetry', *ASE* 12 (1983), 183–214; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 8–14.

¹²⁸ 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', p. 230.

¹²⁹ A. C. Watts, *The Lyre and the Harp: a Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry* (New Haven, CT, 1969), p. 124; for a critique of her view, see J. D. Niles, *Beowulf: the Poem and its Traditions* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 121–37.

comparatively few half-lines in Old English re-appear intact.¹³⁰ There seems to be far less reliance in Old English than in (say) Greek on the repetition of verbatim formulae at the same metrical point in the verse; Old English poets rely more on the restatement of identically structured phrases. In fact, although Magoun considered the first fifty half-lines of *Beowulf* to be 74% formulaic, if we restrict the search for parallels to *Beowulf* alone only nine half-lines (= 18%) are repeated elsewhere in the same form, allowing for minor differences in spelling and inflection.¹³¹ As a result, most Old English scholars would agree with Kellogg that:

We now know that the really relevant elements, in analysis as in composition, are not the verbatim repeats within the corpus, but rather they are the abstract patterns governing the construction of the lines and verses. The appearance of formulae is still the best demonstration of oral composition. Given a large enough corpus, the next stage in analysis ought to be the arrangement of formulae into formulaic systems.¹³²

The key to discovering how these 'abstract patterns' operate seems to lie in the analysis of single words, rather than (as hitherto) the study of the repetition of identical formulaic phraseology. Thus, for example, we find in *Beowulf* the following verses:

æþelinga gedriht	118b
mid his eorla gedriht	357b
ond minra eorla gedryht	431b
mid minra secga gedriht	633b
mid his hæleþa gedryht	662b
mid þinra secga gedryht	1672b

Each verse gives similar semantic sense and can form a complete half-line under varying alliterative circumstances. The localization of the single word *gedryht* at the end of the b-verse remains the only constant feature of this 'formulaic system'. Niles has listed this and a number of similar formulaic systems, all based on fixed localization of a given form, which appears to

¹³⁰ See her discussion, *The Lyre and the Harp*, pp. 66–99.

¹³¹ Repeated half-lines occur at lines 2a, 5a, 6b, 9b, 11b, 15a, 16a, and 17a.

¹³² R. L. Kellogg, 'The South Germanic Oral Tradition', in *Franciplegius*, ed. Bessinger and Creed, pp. 66–74, at 68. Compare the remarks of J. M. Foley, 'Formula and Theme in Old English Poetry', in *Oral Literature and the Formula*, ed. B. A. Stolz and R. S. Shannon III (Ann Arbor, MI, 1976), pp. 207–32, at 212, where he concludes that 'The verbal formula is clearly not the irreducible unit it has always been understood to be.'

generate the system.¹³³ Niles notes 'the extent to which flexible formulaic systems rather than fixed formulae formed the core of the poet's traditional vocabulary'.¹³⁴ Some insight into the generation of such formulaic systems in Old English verse can be gleaned by comparing the diverse systems employed by different poets. If we consider simply the so-called *andswarode*-system in the Old English poem *Genesis* we find the following:¹³⁵

hire þa Adam	<i>andswarode</i>	827
him ða ædre god	<i>andswarede</i>	872
him þa Adam eft	<i>andswarode</i>	882
ides æwiscmod	<i>andswarode</i>	896
ædre after þon	<i>andswarode</i>	1005
him þa [ædre] Cain	<i>andswarode</i>	1022
him þa Abraham	<i>andswarode</i>	2136
Abraham þa	<i>andswarode</i>	2173
him þa ædre god	<i>andswarode</i>	2187
hire þa ædre	<i>andswarode</i>	2256
heo him ædre	<i>andswarode</i>	2273
hire þa se engel	<i>andswarode</i>	2280
ece drihten,	<i>andswarode</i>	2354
arlease cyn,	<i>andswarode</i>	2477
him þa ædre Loth	<i>andswarode</i>	2513
Abraham þa	<i>andswarode</i>	2691

The system employed in *Andreas* is different, but no less consistent:

him ða	<i>ondswarode</i>	ece dryhten	202
him þa	<i>ondswarode</i>	æelmihti god	260
eft him	<i>ondswarode</i>	æðelinga helm	277
him	<i>andswarode</i>	engla þeoden	290
him þa	<i>ondswarode</i>	ece dryhten	343
him	<i>ondswarode</i>	ece dryhten	510
him	<i>ondswarode</i>	æðelinga helm	623
him	<i>ondswarode</i>	ealwalda god	925

The different formulations of the same semantic sense found in these two poets bear eloquent testimony to the difficulties of extending the catch-

¹³³ Niles, 'Formula and Formulaic System in *Beowulf*'; cf. Creed, 'The *Beowulf*-Poet: Master of Sound-Patterning', pp. 198–200; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 84–5.

¹³⁴ 'Formula and Formulaic System in *Beowulf*', p. 401.

¹³⁵ Cf. R. P. Creed, 'The *andswarode*-System in Old English Poetry', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 523–8.

ment area for the comparison of formulaic phrases beyond any single poem.¹³⁶ In *Genesis* the following formulae obtain: *him* . . . *andswarode* (7x); *þa* . . . *andswarode* (11x); *hire* . . . *andswarode* (3x); *ædre* . . . *andswarode* (7x); *Adam* [. . .] *andswarode* (2x); *Abraham* [. . .] *andswarode* (3x); although plainly all the lines quoted combine one or more. In *Andreas* we find *him* [. . .] *andswarode* (6x); *þa andswarode* (3x); *andswarode dryhten* (2x); *andswarode* . . . *god* (2x); and again most lines are formed from a combination of such repeated phrases. The two phrases *ece dryhten* and *eal-X god* are themselves clearly the product of other formulaic systems, and usefully demonstrate how long lines can be generated not only by the combination of repeated formulae based on a localized head-word, but also by the conflation of whole formulaic systems.

The comparison with Aldhelm is striking. To illustrate we might consider any number of localized forms, such as the following:

<i>Aurea</i> contortis flavescent pallia filis	CE III.70
Cum mihi vita comes fuerit, nihil <i>aurea</i> forma	E XIV.3
<i>Aurea</i> dum fulvis flavescit bulla metallis	E LV.5
<i>Aurea</i> flammigeris praestat crepundia gemmis	CdV 188
<i>Aurea</i> caelorum penetrantem culmina vatem	CdV 268
<i>Aurea</i> hunc bombis nascentem bucula vatem	CdV 285
<i>Aurea</i> spernentes stolidi simulacra tyranni	CdV 369
<i>Aurea</i> per campos orarent idola regis	CdV 376
<i>Aurea</i> devexi dum format sidera caeli	CdV 743
<i>Aurea</i> cum glaucis quam comit lunula gemmis	CdV 1163
<i>Aurea</i> sternuntur fundo simulacra Minervae	CdV 1332
<i>Aurea</i> seu fulva quas ornant petala fronde	CdV 1341
<i>Aurea</i> gemmatae linquens crepundia pompae	CdV 1801
<i>Aurea</i> virgineo lucrantem regna pudore	CdV 1843
<i>Aurea</i> cum rubris offert crepundia gemmis	CdV 1934
<i>Aurea</i> caelestis largitur praemia regni	CdV 2005
<i>Aurea</i> virgineo lucrantem praemia voto	CdV 2027
<i>Aurea</i> tum propere penetrarat regna polorum	CdV 2160
<i>Aurea</i> purpureis calcant crepundia gemmis	CdV 2366
<i>Aurea</i> sic cupidus cumulans crepundia quaestu	CdV 2618

The first point to note is the extent of identical rhetorical patterning in each of these lines. In some nineteen of these twenty lines a verb or verbal form

¹³⁶ It is interesting to note that only one of the cited lines from *Genesis* (827) is from *Genesis B*; its omission will not affect my argument.

comprises all or part of the metrical *colon* between the main *B* and *C* caesuras; twelve are 'golden'. A number of 'formulae' are found, each including the head-word, for example: *aurea virgineo lucrantem* (2x); *aurea . . . praemia* (2x); *aurea . . . crepundia* (5x); *aurea . . . simulacra* (2x); *aurea . . . gemmis* (4x); *aurea . . . vatem* (2x); *aurea . . . flavescit/-unt* (2x); *aurea . . . fulvis/-a* (2x); *aurea . . . regna* (2x). Sometimes these are combined, as in *aurea . . . crepundia gemmis* (3x); *aurea . . . fulvis flavescit*; *aurea virgineo lucrantem regna*; *aurea virgineo lucrantem praemia*. In each case it is only the head-word that is constant, and seems, moreover, to generate each formulaic phrase; only three of the twenty lines containing *aurea* above do not involve one or more of these repeated phrases. The demonstration might be extended to any of the many hundreds of localized words and forms found in Aldhelm, including those few listed above. Clearly with Aldhelm, as with the anonymous poet of *Beowulf*, it is apposite to speak of 'the extent to which flexible formulaic systems rather than fixed formulas formed the core of the poet's traditional vocabulary'.¹³⁷

The above discussion is given without prejudice to the vexed question of the ultimate orality and date of *Beowulf*.¹³⁸ But since the same sort of formulaic patterning of phraseology occurs in Aldhelm as in *Beowulf* it seems reasonable to describe both as products of a traditional (and oral-derived) system of versification. In the eleventh century it can be demonstrated that Archbishop Wulfstan still employed in his vernacular sermons a parallel technique of composition to that of Aldhelm and the *Beowulf*-poet, equally based on a vigorous oral tradition.¹³⁹ These comparisons between the literate and latinate Aldhelm and the anonymous author of *Beowulf* (not to mention the literate Wulfstan) may seem shocking to many scholars of the vernacular who, like Creed, believe of *Beowulf* that 'the poem that has come down to us in Cotton Vitellius A. XV is a copy of a recording of a performance . . . made at a time when the traditional technique of singing tales was alive and vigorous'.¹⁴⁰ Brodeur was perhaps more judicious. He speaks warmly of the *Beowulf*-poet and, in assenting to the 'unprovable, but probable assumption of his literacy', notes that 'The structure and the style of the poem, no less than its incomparably rich and

¹³⁷ 'Formula and Formulaic System in *Beowulf*', p. 401.

¹³⁸ Cf. Benson, 'The Literary Character', pp. 339–40; Creed, 'The *Beowulf*-Poet: Master of Sound-Patterning', p. 194; Renoir, *A Key to Old Poems*, pp. 107–32.

¹³⁹ See my 'Crying Wolf', pp. 258–9.

¹⁴⁰ 'The *Beowulf*-Poet: Master of Sound-Patterning', p. 196.

Aldhelm's hexameter verse style and its origins

sensitive diction, attest that the poet was a man of cultivated taste as well as an accomplished scop. He possessed a highly developed sense of form, which shows itself in his language as well as in the structure of his work.¹⁴¹ We are assured of Aldhelm's literacy; I leave it to the sympathetic reader to judge the rest in his regard.

¹⁴¹ A. G. Brodeur, *The Art of Beowulf* (Berkeley, CA, 1960), pp. 4–5.

4

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

That it was an important part of Aldhelm's hexameter verse technique to borrow and rework the remembered poetic diction of previous authors has already been made clear; the precise range of Aldhelm's verse sources needs now to be more narrowly determined, to help assess the ways in which Aldhelm refashioned those sources after his own idiosyncratic poetic pattern. The search for Aldhelm's Latin poetic sources is not new. It is over a century since Manitius published his monumental study of Aldhelm's borrowings, and in the intervening years a number of other scholars have readjusted the canon of Aldhelm's perceived poetic sources both by the addition and subtraction of relevant works to Manitius's already lengthy list.¹

Aldhelm provides the first and most important witness to the state of learning in early Anglo-Saxon England, and accurate assessment of the library at his disposal sheds useful light on both his working methods and the extent of his original contribution. With regard to Aldhelm's Latin metrical verse, the scholar has a number of advantages in the search for sources. The first of these is the fact that Aldhelm was the author of two treatises on the Latin hexameter, *De metris* (DM) and *De pedum regulis* (DPR),² in the course of which he quotes widely from a great range of sources. A second aid to the source-hunter is provided by Aldhelm's own highly idiosyncratic technique of poetic composition, in which excerpted metrical phrases from previous poets are combined and refashioned in a fairly limited number of ways, as has been shown above. In this chapter each of these two clues to the extent of Aldhelm's remembered reading will be examined in turn, providing in combination a detailed picture not

¹ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 546–85.

² The *De metris* and *De pedum regulis* are ed. Ehwald, *Opera*, pp. 75–96 and 150–201.

simply of the extraordinary range of Aldhelm's reading, but also of the precise pattern of usage and adaptation of borrowed phrases and diction.

I note 123 illustrative quotations from the verses of previous poets in Aldhelm's *De metris*, and 158 in his *De pedum regulis*; Aldhelm employs a further fifteen quotations in the course of the prose *De virginitate*. Several of these quotations have been lifted by Aldhelm from intermediate sources, as will become clear. But most have not; Aldhelm appears to have drawn on his own wide reading in the search for examples. That Vergil (134 quotations) should be overwhelmingly the most frequently cited source is not surprising, but that the next most popular authors should be Caelius Sedulius (thirty-five quotations), Prosper of Aquitaine (nineteen quotations), Symphosius (thirteen quotations), Lucan (twelve quotations), Juvenal (nine quotations), Juvencus (eight quotations) and Arator (seven quotations) reflects a pattern of reading which it is hard to parallel. Other verses quoted are rather less familiar to modern ears; Aldhelm cites two lines from Lucan's now-lost *Orpheus* (DPR 159.25–6), and quotes verses from the obscure poets 'Paulus Quaestor' (DM 79.17, 86.30 and 87.30) and 'Andreas Orator' (DM 80.25). Further examples are drawn from a *Paedagogus* alleged to have been composed by Vergil (DM 80.14–17 and 80.19; DPR 160.19), whilst verses by 'Isidore' (DM 80.2), 'Ovid' (DPR 169.18) and 'Ambrose' (DPR 153.16) were certainly not written by their alleged authors. But the very eclecticism of Aldhelm's choice of sources underlines the range of his reading, a feature further highlighted below.

CLASSICAL AND LATE LATIN SECULAR POETS

Ennius, Terence, Seneca and Lucretius

It is convenient to consider together those Classical poets such as Ennius, Terence, Seneca and Lucretius whom Aldhelm cites in his metrical treatises, but almost certainly knew solely at second-hand; there is little evidence that any of these poets influenced Aldhelm's own verse at all. Aldhelm, alone amongst Anglo-Saxons, quotes Ennius once by name (DPR 186.25) and once anonymously (DM 84.14); both cases, however, are clearly derived from grammarians.³ The first is certainly extracted along with the attribution from Priscian,⁴ an author whose work Aldhelm

³ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 134.

⁴ KGL II, 97.

knew.⁵ Ehwald considers that the second verse, together with an associated half-line which Aldhelm attributes to one 'Albinus', derives from Audax's *Excerpta*,⁶ and Wright concurs; it should be noted, however, that both verses are also found in a section of the closely related *De hexametro versu sive heroico* by Maximus Victorinus which Aldhelm appears to have used elsewhere.⁷ There is, then, no evidence for Aldhelm's first-hand knowledge of Ennius. Aldhelm's knowledge of Terence also seems passive. Terence's appearance in a late eleventh-century booklist possibly from Worcester provides the best evidence of his study in Anglo-Saxon England.⁸ Beeson has suggested an Insular tradition for the commentary on Terence by Donatus,⁹ and Ogilvy notes a number of quotations in the works of Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin for which he can find no intermediate source, but Terence was a particular favourite with grammarians whose works are in some cases no longer extant.¹⁰ Verses from Terence are cited three times in the course of Aldhelm's *De pedum regulis* (DPR 184.23-4, 184.26 and 196.9); on each occasion Terence's authorship is stated or implied. For two of these quotations a possible intermediate source has been detected, but in each case Aldhelm seems to have supplemented the grammarians' citation, if indeed he used them at all.¹¹ Moreover Terence's

⁵ See V. Law, 'The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth-Century Southumbria', *ASE* 12 (1983), 43-71, at 49; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 227-8.

⁶ KGL VII, 338-9.

⁷ KGL VI, 211-12; cf. the various comments of Wright in *Poetic Works*, pp. 266, n. 21; 264, n. 11; 267, n. 29.

⁸ See Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', p. 70. On the transmission of Terence, see *Handschriften*, pp. 12-16; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 412-20. For evidence that Terence was imitated in tenth-century Canterbury, see Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 78.

⁹ C. H. Beeson, 'The Text Tradition of Donatus' Commentary on Terence', *Classical Philology* 17 (1922), 283-305, at 289-303.

¹⁰ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 248-50; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 563-4. Cf. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, pp. 270-4; and Augustine and the Latin Classics, pp. 378-81; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* II, 583-653.

¹¹ So Terence's *Adelphoe* III.i.2 is found in Aldhelm DPR 196.9 and again in part in Priscian (KGL III, 81); similarly his *Phormio* I.ii.22-3 is cited by Aldhelm DPR 184.26, whilst only *Phormio* I.ii.22 occurs in Nonius Marcellus (see *Nonii Marcelli De Compensiosa Doctrina Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903), p. 57). Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 563-4, further notes that two of the citations included by Aldhelm are also found in less complete forms in the later commentary of Remigius of Auxerre on the *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius.

name is invoked twice in the course of a typical and interesting passage in Aldhelm's *De metris* (DM 90.8–14):

Δ: Enumeratis ergo .XXXII. scematum ordinibus magnopere efflagito, ut enucleata exemplorum serie regulariter edisseras, quot species in carminibus Vergilii vel Lucani seu Persi Flacci aut Terenti Afri deprehendi queant. M: Ex supra dictis speciebus .XXXII. non amplius quam .X. et .VII. in poematibus memoratorum investigare valui excepto Terentio, qui cum comediarum volumina Menandrum secutus non heroicis versibus componeret, earum prologos, cum ab aemulis dente canino carperetur, in defensionem sui velut apologeticos scenis dabat.¹²

On the first of these occasions Aldhelm adds the name of Terentius Afer to a list of other poets obviously culled from a work by Maximus Victorinus,¹³ whilst the second reference seems to imply a knowledge of Terence's prologues, but is almost certainly drawn from Jerome.¹⁴ There is, then, no firm evidence for Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with the works of Terence. Similar doubts occur with regard to Seneca. Aldhelm's single reference to two lines from Seneca's *Agamemnon* (DPR 194.27–31) may well depend on some hitherto-undetected intermediate source; it is certainly unclear on what other grounds James asserts that Aldhelm knew Seneca whilst William of Malmesbury did not.¹⁵

There is slightly more evidence to suggest that Aldhelm had some

¹² 'Δ: Now that you have catalogued the thirty-two kinds of *schemata*, I beg you to set out in an orderly and clear list of examples how many kinds can be found in the poems of Vergil, Lucan, Persius Flaccus or Terentius Afer. M: Of the above thirty-two types I have been unable to find more than seventeen in the poetry of those authors, with the exception of Terence, who following Menander wrote comic volumes rather than heroic verse and gave their prologues to the stage in his defence (apologies as it were), when he was gnawed by the dog-like tooth of his rivals'; the translation is Wright's, from *Poetic Works*, p. 204.

¹³ KGL VI, 213.9–10.

¹⁴ Cf. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), 1, *praefatio*: 'Cogor prius respondere maledictis, Terentii quippiam sustinens, qui comoediarum prologos in defensionem sui scenis dabat.' See too Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, p. 130 (with incorrect reference). I am indebted to Neil Wright for this parallel.

¹⁵ James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, p. 25. On the transmission of Seneca, see Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 357–81; cf. Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 564; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 240.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

first-hand acquaintance with Lucretius.¹⁶ Aldhelm cites but a single line from his *De rerum natura*, and that anonymously (DPR 165.10); all subsequent commentators have followed Ehwald in attributing the line to an intermediate source, usually the *De compendiosa doctrina* of the grammarian Nonius Marcellus.¹⁷ Such a notion is supported by other alleged borrowings in Aldhelm's works from Nonius Marcellus, although it is interesting to note that the latter does not appear to figure in lists of Aldhelm's sources by more modern scholars.¹⁸ Tantalizing traces that Aldhelm may have been influenced by Lucretius in his verse do, however, present themselves, although they are not particularly impressive.¹⁹ Aldhelm's citation of verses by Lucretius, as with Terence and Ennius, most likely reflects the wealth of as yet undetermined secondary sources and derivative material which he had at his disposal.

Vergil

We can, however, attribute to Aldhelm a detailed first-hand knowledge of a number of other Classical poets. After the Bible, and often alongside it,

¹⁶ On the transmission of Lucretius, see *Handschriften*, p. 42; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 218–22. For knowledge of Lucretius in Anglo-Saxon England, see Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 196.

¹⁷ Ehwald is mistaken in listing only one reference to the work of Nonius Marcellus; in fact the line from Lucretius appears twice in the *De compendiosa doctrina* (80.27 and 208.22 in Lindsay's edition (see above, n. 11)).

¹⁸ On knowledge of Nonius Marcellus in Anglo-Saxon England, see Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 207; on the transmission of the text, see Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 248–52. Ehwald notes Aldhelm's possible use of Nonius Marcellus, *Opera*, pp. 113–14, 164–6 and 169.

¹⁹ Amongst parallels of diction between Aldhelm and Lucretius we might note *divino numine* (DRN I.154; cf. *CdV* 2324); *saevi certamina belli* (DRN I.475; cf. *CdV* 1552: *belli certamina saeva*); *diximus ante* (DRN I.794, I.846, I.907, III.538, IV.73, IV.643, IV.742 and IV.882; cf. *CdV* 110); *Ossibus et nervis . . . et sanguine mixto* (I.866; cf. *E* XIV.2: *Ossibus ac nervis ac . . . sanguine cretus*); *robora ferri* (II.449; cf. *E* LXXVIII.10: *robora ferro*). Almost all these parallels, however, are rather doubtful; *belli certamina saeva* may reflect an independent Aldhelmian coinage based on the two cadences *certamina saeva* (Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 752) and *duri certamina belli* (Vergil, *Aeneid* X.146), both of which poems Aldhelm certainly knew. Similarly, *Ossibus et nervis ac . . . sanguine cretus* may derive from Aldhelm's confection of *Ossibus et nervis* (Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* II.120) with the Vergilian cadence *sanguine cretus* (*Aeneid* II.74, III.608 and IV.191); *diximus ante* is also found in the *Heptateuchos* of Cyprianus Gallus (*Iud.* 572), but I include the parallel here since the phrase is so typically Lucretian. Other typically Lucretian

Vergil was the single most influential authority in the early Middle Ages.²⁰ The central position of Vergil in contemporary curricula meant that the transmission and knowledge of his work throughout the period was universal and assured.²¹ In Anglo-Saxon England Vergil was studied in some depth;²² Ogilvy comments that 'practically every Englishman of whose work we have more than a page or two – and some who have left us only a few lines – shows some acquaintance with the *Aeneid*'.²³

Against this impression of Vergil's all-pervasive influence in Anglo-Saxon England, however, must be set the external evidence. Not surprisingly, Vergil's name occurs on Alcuin's list of books available at York, but it is chastening to consider that of twelve further surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England, Vergil occurs only once, and there his most influential work, the *Aeneid* is specifically excluded.²⁴ Moreover, only one complete manuscript of Vergil's works survives from Anglo-Saxon England, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1671 (Worcester, s. x²), together with other fragmentary scraps.²⁵ Perhaps the solution to the paradox of the paucity of manuscript evidence lies in exactly the sort of frequency with which an important school-text would be read. It may not be insignificant that the surviving Vatican manuscript, as Lapidge notes, 'shows little sign of intensive use: its parchment is crisp and clean, and it contains few glosses'; many more frequently read books of

phrases used by Aldhelm, such as *machina mundi* or *semina rerum* are quite commonplace, cf. Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* III, 267–8 and V, 89–90.

²⁰ The secondary literature on medieval knowledge of Vergil is vast; see in particular Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 6–26; cf. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* II, 673–826.

²¹ See *Handschriften*, pp. 47–55; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 433–6. For a general discussion of the medieval curriculum, see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 48–54.

²² Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 258–9; Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', p. 101; Wright, 'Bede and Vergil', p. 377; Campbell, 'Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse', pp. 5–8.

²³ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 258; cf. Hunter Blair, 'From Bede to Alcuin', pp. 243–7.

²⁴ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1554; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 46 and 70. In the latter case an item on a booklist perhaps from Worcester (s. xi^{ex}) reads simply *Bucolica et Georgica Vergilii*.

²⁵ See Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', pp. 101 and 129, nn. 16 and 17.

Vergil must have perished in the period: some provided the binding-scrap already noted.²⁶

The extreme devotion of individual Anglo-Saxons to Vergil's verse is in any case beyond question. Even if we dismiss the tale told in the anonymous *Vita Alcuini*, written shortly before 830, in which Alcuin, having slept through the night vigils is supernaturally rebuked for loving Vergil more than the psalms, we have Alcuin's own letter of c. 791–2 to his former pupil Ricbod, abbot of Lorsch and bishop of Trier, in which he laments that Ricbod favours Vergil above the gospels and even (still more seriously, it seems) above Alcuin himself.²⁷ It was against this well-documented Anglo-Saxon background of ambivalence towards the relative merits of Classical and Christian literature that Peter Hunter Blair made an attempt to demonstrate that, for example, Bede's knowledge of Vergil was merely second-hand, concluding that: 'the 78 Vergilian quotations in the school treatises were all derived directly or indirectly from the grammarians and not from Vergil's own works'.²⁸ These arguments, however, have been overwhelmingly refuted by Neil Wright, who points out grave flaws and omissions in Hunter Blair's work and demonstrates that 'study of Vergil's poetry was an integral part of the teaching of the rules of Latin prosody and quantitative poetry at Wearmouth-Jarrow'.²⁹

The influence of Vergil's verse on Aldhelm's work is similarly all-pervasive. Aside from some 130 citations in the metrical treatises (nearly half the total), Vergil is quoted on four occasions in the course of the prose *De Virginitate* (*PdV* 230.19, 310.5, 316.6–9 and 316.21–2), and no less than seven verses of Vergil's work occur embedded in Aldhelm's own poetry.³⁰ More significantly, in attempting to describe his own pioneering efforts in the composition of metrical Latin verse Aldhelm naturally turns to Vergil as the yardstick by which to measure his own achievement (*DPR* 202). Throughout Aldhelm's works, Vergil is named some fifty-five times, being also described as *Mantuanus vates* (*DM* 73.1 and 89.7) and *Maro* (*DM* 73.7); for Aldhelm Vergil is most often simply *poeta*, occasionally *facundum*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁷ *Epistolae Alcuini*, ed. Dümmler, pp. 38–9 (no. 13), at 39; cf. Hunter Blair, 'From Bede to Alcuin', pp. 250–1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁹ Wright, 'Bede and Vergil', p. 377.

³⁰ *E VII.2* = *Aeneid* XII.677; *E XCVII.12–16* = *Aeneid* IV.177 and 181–4; *CdV* 30 = *Aeneid* VII.641.

... *poetam* (E VII.1); *argutus* ... *poeta* (CdV 29); *facetis* ... *poeta* (PdV 230.18); or even simply *illustris ille* (DPR 202.14). It is therefore unsurprising that Manitius and Ehwald have together formulated an impressive and lengthy list of Vergilian borrowings in Aldhelm's verse.³¹ Nor is their list exhaustive; it is possible to supplement their findings substantially, as the detailed parallels from the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* in Appendix 4.1 below amply demonstrate.³²

Such parallels indicate that Aldhelm's debt to Vergil extends beyond shared diction, and that Aldhelm often echoed the very structure of Vergil's verses, as in the following, where by simple substitution of metrical and semantic equivalents Aldhelm has made a line from the *Georgics* his own:

Saeuit *et in* lucem *Stygiis* emissa tenebris III.551

Tollit *et in* mundum *Stygiis* emersa latebris CdV 2638

Vergil is describing how the Fury Tisiphone brings disease and pestilence into the world; Aldhelm's description deals with another Fury, Allecto, and how Sin arrives on earth. Aldhelm's debt to Vergil at every stage in the composition of such a verse is manifest. Three further parallels from Vergil's *Aeneid*, each involving matching metrical structure, diction and context, make it clear that this is not an isolated example:

Aurora in roseis fulgebat *lutea bigis* VII.26

Aurora in fulvis dum luxit *lutea bigis* CdV 1363

Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur *alis* VIII.369

Necnon et furvis terram complectitur *alis* CdV 629

Turba furit, *resonant* late plangoribus *aedes* XII.607

Moxque clentelae *resonant* singultibus *aedes* CdV 2254

In each case the way that Aldhelm has modelled the style and sense of his verse upon that of Vergil is quite clear.

Further indications of the importance of Vergil in Aldhelm's poetic education are given by the number of Vergil-related texts which Aldhelm quotes. Perhaps the best-known of these is the fourth-century *Cento* of Proba, whom Aldhelm describes as 'most famous amongst poets', quoting the first line of the prologue to her work (DPR 188.28–31).³³ It is

³¹ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 547–61; *Opera*, p. 546.

³² See below, pp. 225–8.

³³ Proba's *Cento* is in *Poetae Christianae Minores* I, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 16 (Vienna, 1888); see too Herzog, *Die Bibelepik*, pp. 3–46; Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*,

impossible to ascertain the extent to which Aldhelm was familiar with the work; in signalling his approbation in such clear terms he was, however, departing significantly from most influential opinion: Jerome had specifically repudiated the work.³⁴ A further pseudo-Vergilian work cited by Aldhelm is the *Culex*, of which the final two verses are quoted in the course of the *De pedum regulis* (DPR 157.22).³⁵ That just these same two verses feature in the *Vita Vergilii* by Donatus suggests that Aldhelm only knew the poem at second hand; I have detected only one further possible parallel, though it is hardly convincing.³⁶ The opening verse of Vergil's epitaph, quoted in the *De metris* (DM 88.9), also occurs in the same *Vita*, although in this case Aldhelm explicitly signals his intermediate source as the *Chronicles* of Eusebius.³⁷ However, since Manitius names the same *Vita Vergilii* as the ultimate source for a further pseudo-Vergilian verse cited in the course of the *De pedum regulis* (DPR 186.3), we can be sure that Donatus's *Vita* formed part of Aldhelm's reading.³⁸ More intriguing is Aldhelm's quotation of lines from the poem he calls 'Vergili Pedagogus' (DM 80.13), since the work is found only rarely elsewhere.³⁹ In a single eleventh-century manuscript the poem follows on directly from the so-called *Epitaphium Lucani*, which Aldhelm likewise quotes (DM 89.3); Neil Wright makes the attractive suggestion that 'possibly Aldhelm drew both quotations from a similar manuscript source containing both poems, now lost'.⁴⁰ Hosius quotes Huemer's opinion that the 'Vergil' referred to may be an otherwise unknown Insular poet, although it is interesting to note that in a letter to Charlemagne Alcuin also quotes the first two lines of

pp. 286–7; Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, p. 76; D. Nodes, 'Proba', in *Trial Version*, pp. 149–50.

³⁴ Jerome, *Ep* lxiii.7 (ed. Hilberg, CSEL 54, 454).

³⁵ The *Culex* is in *Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. W. V. Clausen (Oxford, 1966), pp. 15–36.

³⁶ See *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, ed. C. Hardie (Oxford, 1966), p. 10. There is no better parallel for the Aldhelmian cadence *gloria formae* (E VI.3 and XCVI.9) than the identical usage in *Culex* 408, as Manitius first noted, although this is scant evidence of first-hand acquaintance.

³⁷ PL 27, 554; *Vita Vergilii*, ed. Hardie, p. 14.

³⁸ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 559; cf. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 132.

³⁹ Aldhelm quotes a further verse which he attributes to *Vergilius libro qui pedagogus praetitulatur* (DPR 160.18). The poem is also ed. Riese (*AL*, no. 675) and Baehrens (*PLM* IV, 161).

⁴⁰ The *Epithalamium Lucani* is in *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem*, ed. Hosius, p. 338; see too *Poetic Works*, p. 266, n. 12.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

the poem which he calls *De pedagoga* and attributes to 'pater Maro'.⁴¹ We may perhaps take Aldhelm's quotation from this work, as with the others mentioned above, as confirmation of the importance of Vergil in Aldhelm's poetic education.

Persius, Juvenal and Lucan

Other secular verse from the Classical period cited by Aldhelm in his poetic treatises includes the works of Lucan, and the satirists Persius and Juvenal; in each case there is evidence to suggest that Aldhelm's acquaintance, though certainly bolstered by the frequent citation of such authors by grammarians, was not simply restricted to the second-hand.

The six *Satires* of Persius were much copied and admired from Antiquity onwards,⁴² although evidence of Persius's direct influence on later poets is hard to determine, perhaps due to the complex and compressed nature of his poetic diction. So Duff speaks of Persius's 'crabbed manner of expression which makes him the hardest of Latin poets to read', whilst Sorn notes glumly that 'es ist ein Meer von Dunkelheit'.⁴³ Persius's popularity in late Anglo-Saxon England is, however, well-attested.⁴⁴ No fewer than four manuscripts survive: Cambridge, Trinity College O. 4. 10 (1241) (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. x); London, British Library, Royal 15. B. XIX, fols. 79–199 (s. x; includes scholia); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 1. 15 (2455), fols. 78–93 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. x², provenance Exeter); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 6. 12 (Thorney, s. xi^{ex}).⁴⁵ Of the first of these Ogilvy writes, though on uncertain authority, that 'it is not impossible that it descended from a [manuscript] brought in the time of Theodore and Hadrian'.⁴⁶ The

⁴¹ M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem, ed. Hosius, p. 338; Alcuini Epistolae, ed. Dümmler, p. 161. It is interesting to note that as well as a different title, Alcuin's version has a variant reading of the opening line (*digna coturno* for Aldhelm's *digna favore*).

⁴² Handschriften, pp. 112–15; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 293–5.

⁴³ Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, p. 232; J. Sorn, *Die Sprache des Persius* (Laibach, 1890), p. 31.

⁴⁴ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 219–20.

⁴⁵ See Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 195, 493, 534 and 252.

⁴⁶ *Books Known to the English*, p. 220. Ogilvy cites M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–4) III, 258, where, however, no such claim is made. Cf. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 14–16.

evidence from the earlier period which he presents is, however, somewhat deceptive, being based for the most part (and excluding Aldhelm) on a single correspondence of phraseology between the *bibulas . . . aures* of Bede's *Metrical Life of Cuthbert* (lines 358 and 463) and Persius *Satire* IV.50. The same single phrase is also used by Alcuin (*Carmina* IX.141 and XX.16), perhaps echoing Bede. One further rather unconvincing correspondence between Alcuin's *murmura clausa ciet* (*Carmina* IX.110) and Persius's *clauso murmure raucus* (*Satires* V.11) is noted by Dümmler, but ignored by Ogilvy.

Aldhelm quotes 'Persius Flaccus' three times by name in the metrical treatises (*DM* 78.12–14 and 88.2–3; *DPR* 168.7). The first citation is of the opening three verses of a separate fourteen-line poem in choliambics which occurs as a prologue in some manuscripts, and as an epilogue in others: 'Nec fonte labra prolui caballino/ Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso/ Memini me'. Aldhelm clearly echoes this passage in the prologue to his own *Enigmata*: 'nec/ In Parnasso procubui nec somnia vidi' (*E* P. 12–13). No convincing intermediate source for any of the three citations has been found; whilst the first two of the choliambics cited above are also quoted by Rufinus,⁴⁷ Aldhelm's quotation of the third line may preclude the possibility of intermediate influence, and in any case Aldhelm is clearly toying with the Classical idea of divine inspiration for verse in dreams, a notion which Bede was later to explore with reference to Aldhelm's contemporary Cædmon.⁴⁸ There is only one further verbal parallel to suggest direct influence of Persius on Aldhelm's verse;⁴⁹ it must remain at least a possibility that Aldhelm had read and imitated his work.

Unlike Persius, Juvenal rose to popularity late. As Tanner notes, 'In the last quarter of the fourth century Juvenal's satires emerged from a long period of neglect into sudden popularity. Not cited by Donatus or Jerome,

⁴⁷ KGL VI, 560.1–2.

⁴⁸ Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry*, p. 127, discusses the relevant lines from Aldhelm's prologue without noting that they derive from Persius, while other studies of analogues to the Cædmon story omit the episode entirely; cf. *VBOH* II, 254–6; Wrenn, 'The Poetry of Cædmon', pp. 284–8; Shepherd, 'The Prophetic Cædmon', pp. 113–16. See further the detailed discussion by Clemoes, *Interactions* (forthcoming).

⁴⁹ Persius employs the cadence *tura litabis* in his *Satires* (V.120), and may have been imitated by Aldhelm (cf. *CdV* 1188: *tura litaret*; *CdV* 1574: *tura litabant*; *CdV* 2265: *tura litare*). The possibility of imitation is perhaps strengthened by the fact that in illustrating the correct scansion of 'litamus litatis litabam litabar' (*DPR* 168.8), Aldhelm quotes a line from Persius.

Juvenal appears more than seventy times in the Vergilian commentaries of Servius, who may himself have contributed to the new interest in the satires.⁵⁰ His adoption by a number of grammarians brought Juvenal's work to the attention of a wide audience, but for modern scholars this makes the detection of his influence difficult.⁵¹

Evidence for direct knowledge of Juvenal in Anglo-Saxon England is rather sparse.⁵² From the later period we may note the existence of two tenth-century manuscripts, Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 4. 10 (1241) and O. 4. 11 (1242), both attributed to St Augustine's, Canterbury.⁵³ In a still later booklist, perhaps from Worcester, there is reference to a work which Lapidge suggests is 'possibly the commentary on Juvenal by Remigius of Auxerre, which is not extant but is known from medieval library catalogues'.⁵⁴ Most of the suggested echoes of Juvenal noted by Ogilvy with respect to Bede and Boniface are unconvincing and disappointingly small in number; three of four alleged parallels in Bede's biblical commentaries on Luke and Mark rest unsteadily on perceived similarity to a single phrase from Juvenal, *nemo repente fuit turpissimus* (III.87), where Bede has variously *nemo repente fit perfectus* (Luke IV.1552); *nemo enim repente fit summus* (Luke V.547); *nemo repente fit summus* (Mark III.286).⁵⁵ The fourth of the parallels from Bede adduced by Hurst is at first sight more promising, being based on the quotation from 'poetarum quidam' of the following moral verse: *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit* (Juvenal, *Satires* XIV.139 = Bede, *Mark* I.1807). Unfortunately Hurst and Ogilvy fail to note that the verse is something of a commonplace, being also found in Isidore (*Etymologiae* I.xxxvi.11), Bede's likeliest source, and (perhaps later) the *Versus ad Sethum* attributed to

⁵⁰ Manitius, *Handschriften*, pp. 135–9; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 200. Cf. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* I, 553–97.

⁵¹ See the detailed discussion of Knoche, *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenaltexes*, pp. 55–80.

⁵² Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 189–90.

⁵³ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 195 and 196; the first of these contains a text of Persius also, as has been noted above. Cf. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 14–16 and 24–5.

⁵⁴ Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', p. 72; cf. too Manitius, *Geschichte* I, 512–13, and *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. Kristeller I, 175–238, esp. 176.

⁵⁵ Reference is by page and line to *Beda's Venerabilis Opera. Pars II: Opera Exegetica* 3. In *Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, In *Marcae Evangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960).

Columbanus (line 38).⁵⁶ The single parallel with Juvenal noted by Peter Godman in his edition of Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, is similarly unsatisfactory, since the phrase in question is not specific, and can be found in a number of more accessible sources.⁵⁷ The bulk of evidence to date for first-hand Anglo-Saxon knowledge of Juvenal rests on Aldhelm.

Verses from Juvenal's *Satires* are cited by Aldhelm eight times in his metrical treatises (*DM* 79.4, 79.8 and 85.19; *DPR* 164.24, 167.15, 183.11, 184.4 and 184.8); each time Juvenal's authorship is stated or implied. On the first citation in each treatise (*DM* 79.2; *DPR* 164.23) Aldhelm is a little more expansive, speaking of 'Iunius Iuvenalis satiricus'. However it is important to note that Knoche, whose analysis of Juvenal's later influence is the most extensive to date, is cautious about attributing first-hand knowledge of Juvenal to Aldhelm.⁵⁸ Four of the verses cited by Aldhelm may well have come through his reading of Priscian, an author apparently unknown to Bede but familiar to his Southumbrian predecessor.⁵⁹ In one case (*DPR* 183.11) Aldhelm's misquotation of the line from Juvenal makes the immediate influence of Priscian, with an identical error,

⁵⁶ *Etymologiae* I.xxxvi.11 (ed. Lindsay, p. 247); for the poem attributed to Columbanus, see *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1957), ed. G. S. M. Walker, pp. 186–91. Lapidge, 'The Authorship of the Adonic Verses "Ad Fidorium" Attributed to Columbanus', pp. 293–302, argues that the Columbanus in question is the eponymous Carolingian poet and abbot of Saint-Trond in the diocese of Metz, while Herren, 'A Ninth Century Poem for St Gall's Feast Day and the "Ad Sethum" of Columbanus', pp. 514–20, considers that in the early seventh century St Columbanus *did* write the quantitative verse ascribed to him. If so, it is even possible that Aldhelm may have been influenced by these verses; but I detect no further parallels.

⁵⁷ Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 149; the phrase in question, 'Quod natura negat' (1379), occurs not only in Juvenal's *Satires* I.79 but also in verses by Dracontius (*De laudibus Dei* II.289), Arator (*De actibus apostolorum* I.528), Alcimus Avitus (*Carmina* II.156), and Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmina* III.x.10 and X.vi.48), all of whom Godman in the same volume alleges Alcuin to have known and used. For further examples of this and related phrases (including a number by Aldhelm, whom Alcuin had certainly read), see Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* III, 493–4.

⁵⁸ Knoche, *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenaltexstes*, p. 43.

⁵⁹ Juvenal III.97 = Aldhelm *DPR* 184.4 = Priscian KGL II, 103.17; Juvenal XI.203 = Aldhelm *DPR* 183.11 = Priscian KGL II, 106.5; Juvenal XIV.129 = Aldhelm *DPR* 167.15 = Priscian KGL II, 338.18; Juvenal XIV.280 = Aldhelm *DPR* 184.8 = Priscian KGL II, 291.15. On Aldhelm's knowledge of Priscian, see further Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 591–4; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 227–8; Law, 'The Study of Latin Grammar', pp. 52–3.

almost certain.⁶⁰ Somewhat curiously, this leaves the first four quotations (DM 79.4, 79.8 and 85.19; DPR 164.24) unaccounted for, since none has been found in any plausible intermediate source. There must remain the possibility that Aldhelm's knowledge of Juvenal was not simply restricted to the second-hand, and a handful of possible parallels, noted in Appendix 4.1 below, lends support to the notion.⁶¹

Like the *Satires* of Persius, Lucan's epic *Bellum ciuile* proved immediately popular with his contemporaries, and a rich and unbroken later tradition attests to the admiration of succeeding generations.⁶² Despite this popularity, Lucan is generally held to have been less influential on later Latin poetic diction than other authors, and it is interesting to recall that Quintilian dismissed Lucan as 'rather to be imitated by orators than poets' (*magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus*).⁶³ Evidence of knowledge of Lucan in Anglo-Saxon England, though relatively slight, is compelling.⁶⁴ His name occurs on a late book-list from Worcester, and he is mentioned by Alcuin amongst the Classical poets available at York.⁶⁵ Peter Godman detects no less than twenty potential parallels between Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* and Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, and even offers an emendation to the received text on the basis of an alleged allusion to Lucan.⁶⁶ Still more cogent is the parallel noted by Dümmler between the following couplet by Alcuin (*Carmina* IX.47–8):

⁶⁰ Juvenal has '*nostra bibit vernum contracta cuticula solem*' (XI.203); Aldhelm has *cum bibet aestivum* (DPR 183.11); Priscian has *combibet aestivum* (KGL II, 106.5).

⁶¹ Two further parallels may be noted: Juvenal shares with Aldhelm the cadences *tecta columnis* (VIII.17; cf. *E.* LV.7) and *funus acerbum* (XI.44; cf. *CE* IV.vii.29). If these cadences were borrowed by Aldhelm, Juvenal seems a more plausible source than the alternatives: *tecta columnis* is found in Martial (*Carmina* II.xiv.9) and in Ausonius (*Mosella* 336); *funus acerbum* likewise occurs also in Ausonius (*Carmina* IV.xiv.1).

⁶² *Handschriften*, pp. 15–20; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 215–18; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* II, 17–83. In his *Inferno* IV.88–90 Dante places Lucan as a poet alongside Homer, Horace, Ovid, Vergil, and himself, whilst Chaucer has a vision of 'The grete poete, daun Lucan' in his *House of Fame* (III.409).

⁶³ *Institutio Oratoria* X.i.90; see M. Fabi Quintiliani *Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim*, ed. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1970) II, 585.

⁶⁴ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 195; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 567 and 617–18; Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 150.

⁶⁵ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1554; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 46 and 70.

⁶⁶ Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 150; see too his note on line 184.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Heu, Iudaea, tuis *habitor in urbibus errat*
Rarus in antiquis, laus tua tota perit

and a line from Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* I.27):

Rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat.

Bede's citation of six verses from the *Bellum ciuile* in his *De arte metrica* provides useful supporting evidence of a Northumbrian tradition, though Jaager does not perceive any direct influence on Bede's poetic diction in his *Metrical Life of Cuthbert*.⁶⁷

Once again, however, Aldhelm provides the most secure evidence for detailed knowledge of Lucan's verse in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed in the case of Lucan's *Orpheus*, no longer extant, Aldhelm's citation of two lines (DPR 159.25–6) constitutes almost our only knowledge of that work.⁶⁸ An illustrative quotation is similarly culled from the so-called *Epitaphium Lucani* (DM 89.2).⁶⁹ Aldhelm cites the *Bellum ciuile* twelve times in the course of his metrical treatises (DM 79.11, 79.13, 79.15, 85.23, 86.24, 86.26, 87.25, 89.5, 89.24 and 92.14; DPR 185.21–2 and 197.17); on each occasion Lucan's name is directly invoked or implied. The first time such a citation is made Aldhelm is, as often, more expansive, naming 'Anneus Lucanus, Cordobensis poeta' (DM 79.10), whilst in a passage clearly borrowed from the grammarian Audax which celebrates Homer and Vergil as the prime exponents of the hexameter metre (DM 83.3–4), Aldhelm also makes mention of a '[libri] Lucani proelia Caesaris et Pompei decantantis'.⁷⁰ This last citation, coupled with the fact that none of the verses from Lucan quoted by Aldhelm are to be found in any

⁶⁷ Bede quotes *Bellum ciuile* I.1–3 and I.10–12 at *De arte metrica* I.62–9 (*Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, p. 115).

⁶⁸ We can be sure that Lucan did indeed compose an *Orpheus*, since reference is made to it by both the sixth-century grammarian Vacca (*Vita Lucani*) and Statius (*Genethliacon Lucani*, *Siluae* II.vii.40).

⁶⁹ The line quoted is the first line of the epitaph; see *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Ciuilis Libri Decem*, ed. C. Hosius (Leipzig, 1913), p. 338. There is a further edition by Riese, *AL*, no. 668. The first line alone (as here) is also found in the famous classical manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 363 (s. ix², written in a continental Irish scriptorium, N. Italy?), and ptd Riese, *AL*, no. 485c.

⁷⁰ Manitius ('Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 567) signals the similarity between Aldhelm's description of Lucan and that given by Jerome (*Chron. Euseb.* anno Abr. 2079), and Duff (*A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, p. 238) likewise highlights the importance of Jerome's account. On Aldhelm's additions to Audax, see *Opera*, p. 83.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

intermediate source, seem to indicate that Aldhelm was well acquainted with the *Bellum ciuile*.

Published evidence of Lucan's direct influence on Aldhelm's diction is therefore disappointing. Manitius notes only two parallels.⁷¹ Further parallels are available; I note several of the most convincing in Appendix 4.1 below. It will be clear that there is considerably more evidence for Aldhelm's knowledge and use of Lucan than has been acknowledged hitherto.

Horace, Ovid and Statius

Apart from those Classical authors whose verses Aldhelm freely cites in the course of his metrical treatises, some of which, as we have seen, he knew only through intermediate sources, there are a number of other Classical poets, particularly Horace, Ovid and Statius, with whose work it has been suggested that Aldhelm was familiar, judging from apparent echoes and borrowings in his own verse. In each of these cases the arguments already proposed in favour of Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance can be further refined and supported, to offer a still clearer picture of Aldhelm's apparently voracious appetite for Classical and secular verse.

Horace was such a celebrated poet during the Late Latin period that it might be assumed that the transmission of his works was ensured throughout the Middle Ages.⁷² That he was a popular source for citations amongst several of the Fathers, notably Jerome and Augustine has, however, made the detection of Horace's direct influence upon later authors rather difficult.⁷³ Good evidence of first-hand acquaintance is hard to find, and the tradition is not easily traced unbroken; Tarrant notes that 'knowledge of Horace and manuscripts of his works appear rather suddenly at the end of the ninth century'.⁷⁴

⁷¹ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 567. Manitius gives as examples of borrowed diction *semina belli* (III. 150; cf. *CdV* 1327) and *longis anfractibus* (I.605; cf. *CdV* 1521 and 2690). The first of these is hardly specific (Ehwald ignores it, and there are plausible alternative parallels in Claudian, *Carmina* XXVI.26 and Corippus *Iobannid* VII(VI).244), and I ignore it in Appendix 4.1 below.

⁷² On the transmission of Horace, see *Handschriften*, pp. 55–61; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 182–6; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* I, 421–522.

⁷³ Cf. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, pp. 281–3; and *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, pp. 464–8.

⁷⁴ Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 182.

Few Insular traces remain. The aforementioned Irish manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 363 (s. ix²) is an important witness for the transmission of the *Odes* and *Satires*, but no Anglo-Saxon manuscripts whatsoever containing Horace's works have been identified.⁷⁵ That Alcuin assumed the name 'Flaccus' in the quaint gaiety of the Carolingian poetic circle is scarcely proof of knowledge; Horace's name and fame were assured by his piecemeal survival in the works of the grammarians and Church Fathers, and indeed the complete line from the first book of the *Satires* inserted by Alcuin into his *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* is of just this commonplace type, being introduced without attribution and described by Alcuin himself as 'an ancient proverbial expression'.⁷⁶ Other faint traces of acquaintance which some have seen in Alcuin's poetry may well derive from similar secondary sources, as von Winterfeld believed, or perhaps from his time on the Continent.⁷⁷ Certainly Horace is not included in the list of authors known to Alcuin in York, whilst the court library of Charlemagne apparently contained a copy of at least the *Ars poetica*.⁷⁸

Another Anglo-Latin author to whom a first-hand knowledge of Horace has been attributed is Milred of Worcester.⁷⁹ In a rather overblown letter in high literary style written shortly after 754 to commiserate with Lul, Milred describes the recently martyred Boniface as 'decus et columnen omnium, quos praesens protulit patria' ('the glory and support of all whom the present homeland has produced').⁸⁰ Tangl pointed out that this description echoes that which Horace used of his own patron Maecenas, whom he called 'mearum / grande decus columnenque rerum' (*Odes* II.xvii.3–4) ('great glory and support of my affairs'), but more recently Patrick Sims-Williams has quoted further parallels from Ausonius and

⁷⁵ There is a complete facsimile edition of this manuscript by H. Hagen, *Codex Bernensis 363 Phototypice Editus* (Leiden, 1897); on Anglo-Latin knowledge of Horace's works, see Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 162–3.

⁷⁶ See Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxii, 67 and 149; the proverbial nature of the saying is attested by A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Hildesheim, 1971), p. 323.

⁷⁷ P. von Winterfeld, 'Wie sah der Codex Blandinus Vetustissimus des Horaz aus?', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 60 (1905), 31–7.

⁷⁸ *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben. Band II, Das geistige Leben*, ed. B. Bischoff (Dusseldorf, 1965), pp. 42–62; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 182.

⁷⁹ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 162.

⁸⁰ *Die Briefe*, ed. Tangl, pp. 243–5 (no. 112).

Sidonius Apollinaris and concludes that Milred's use of the Horatian phrase is probably indirect.⁸¹

As Ogilvy notes, Bede's quotation of the verse '*Lucilium sequitur saturae mordacis amator*' in the course of his *De temporum ratione* 'implies an acquaintance with the satires of Horace'.⁸² Some support for this notion is to be had from Jaager, who detects a single parallel with the *Satires* in Bede's verse *Vita S. Cuthberti*.⁸³ Michael Lapidge and Alistair Campbell both note evidence to suggest that Horace's *Satires* were known and imitated in tenth-century Winchester.⁸⁴

With respect to Aldhelm's knowledge of the works of Horace, little emphasis can be placed on the following reminiscences alleged by Manitius and Ehwald:⁸⁵

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|
| [1] | Res Italas armis tuteris, <i>moribus ornes</i> | <i>Epist</i> II.i.2 |
| M | Sic mundum propriis <i>ornabat moribus</i> amplum | <i>CdV</i> 565 |
| [2] | Sive neglectum <i>genus et nepotes</i> | <i>Od</i> I.ii.35 |
| M | Ut devotaret sobolem <i>et genus omne nepotum</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2510 |
| [3] | Sors exitura, et nos in aeter-/ | |
| M | num <i>exilium</i> impositura <i>cumbae</i> | <i>Od</i> II.iii.27–28 |
| | Trusit <i>in exilium cumba</i> trans caerula vectum | <i>CE</i> IV.v.13 |
| [4] | Non <i>trabes</i> Hymettiae | |
| M | Premunt <i>columnas</i> ultima recisas | <i>Od</i> II.xviii.3–4 |
| | Nec <i>trabis</i> in templo, surgunt nec tecta <i>columnis</i> | <i>E</i> LV.9 |
| [5] | Perfidus hic <i>caupo</i> , miles nautaeque per omne | <i>Sat</i> I.i.29 |
| E | Ni fallax <i>caupo</i> strofes infundat aquosas | <i>CdV</i> 2796 |

Such parallels are not particularly convincing, either individually or collectively, being founded for the most part on the identity of single uncommon words. Correspondence [2], moreover, is certainly spurious;

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 244, n. 1; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, pp. 236–7.

⁸² Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 162.

⁸³ *Beda's metrische Vita S. Cuthberti*, p. 72.

⁸⁴ Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems', pp. 109 and 113; see too Campbell's edition of the *Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, pp. 114 and 166.

⁸⁵ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 562.

Aldhelm is clearly combining phrases from Vergil and Sedulius, both of whose works he knew well.⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that in his edition Ehwald ignores all four of the parallels from the *Epistles* and *Odes* suggested by Manitius but adds his own suggested correspondence [5] from Horace's *Satires*, since elsewhere Ogilvy adduces a further piece of evidence to suggest that Aldhelm knew the latter work.⁸⁷ In his letter to his student Æthilwald, Aldhelm urges a cautious and circumspect attitude 'si quid . . . saecularium litterarum *nosse laboras*' ('if you labour to know anything of secular literature'), and Ogilvy notes that the phrase *nosse laboras*, otherwise hard to match in Aldhelm's works, perhaps mirrors the cadence *nosse laboro* found in *Satires* II.viii.19. The Satire in question describes a disastrous dinner-party at the house of one Nasidienus Rufus, and the possibility that Aldhelm is alluding to the work is made more attractive by the fact that earlier in the same letter Aldhelm had warned Æthilwald of the dangers of his own indulgence 'in cotidianis potationibus et conviviis usu frequentiore ac prolixiore inhoneste superfluis'.⁸⁸ Unfortunately a still closer parallel for Aldhelm's use of the phrase *si . . . nosse laboras* presents itself; exactly the same cadence (*quodsi . . . nosse laboras*) is found in the verse prologue to Book II of the anonymous *Disticha Catonis*, a popular elementary school-text, at least in later Anglo-Saxon England.⁸⁹ Moreover the prologue to Book II is exclusively devoted to extolling the virtues of pagan poets such as Vergil, Lucan and Ovid, the very 'secular literature' against which Aldhelm is seeking to warn his student. If Aldhelm is referring to the work, his allusion constitutes the earliest evidence for knowledge of the *Disticha Catonis* in Anglo-Saxon England.⁹⁰ But whether Aldhelm is alluding to the *Disticha Catonis* or

⁸⁶ Aldhelm is clearly combining the Sedulian phrase *genus omne nepotum* (*Carmen Paschale* I.310) with a number of phrases from Vergil's *Aeneid* of the type *et genus omne futurum* (IV.622, V.737, VIII.628, IX.141 and XII.530).

⁸⁷ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 162.

⁸⁸ *Ep* xi.499–500: 'In daily drinking-parties and feasts hideously excessive in their too frequent and prolix practice.'

⁸⁹ *Disticha Catonis*, ed. Boas, p. 90. On the *Disticha Catonis* as a school-text, of which four manuscripts survive in Anglo-Saxon England, see Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', pp. 102–5. The work was translated into Old English late in the period; a parallel text is provided by Cox, 'The Old English Dicts of Cato', pp. 5–16.

⁹⁰ Cf. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', p. 102; Cox, 'The Old English Dicts of Cato', pp. 2–3.

Horace's *Satires* (or both),⁹¹ it will be clear that in many cases it is rewarding to examine the *context* of his potential borrowings, as well as their content; the topic richly deserves further study.

In support of such insecure evidence of Aldhelm's knowledge of Horace's *Satires*, however, I should note the following possible parallels:⁹²

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| [1] Plus haurire mali est quam ex re <i>decerpere fructus</i> | I.ii.79 |
| In quis contemplativos <i>decerpere fructus</i> | CdV 758 |
| In quacumque die vultis <i>decerpere fructum</i> | CdV 2684 |
| Nititur electos scripturae <i>carpere fructus</i> | CdV 2774 |
| [2] Cetera, ni Catia est, demissa <i>veste tegentis</i> | I.ii.95 |
| Tertius et primus pepeli sub <i>veste tegentes</i> | CdV 2508 |
| [3] Excerptam numero: neque enim <i>concludere versum</i> | I.iv.40 |
| Ultima sic trochei <i>concludat littera versum</i> | CdV 50 |
| [4] Cui Canis ex vero dictum <i>cognomen adhaeret</i> | II.ii.56 |
| Tempore de primo noctis mihi <i>nomen adhaesit</i> | E LVIII.1 |
| [5] Res ubi magna nitet domino sene <i>dulcia poma</i> | II.v.12 |
| Quamquam palmeti praecedant <i>dulcia poma</i> | CdV 238 |
| [6] Fortis, et in se ipso totus, <i>teres atque rotundus</i> | II.vii.86 |
| Ut globus astrorum plasmor <i>teres atque rotundus</i> | E C.57 |

Such evidence is scarcely conclusive, but keeps open the possibility that Aldhelm did indeed read and imitate the *Satires* of Horace.

Far more weighty arguments have been adduced to demonstrate Aldhelm's first-hand knowledge of a whole range of Ovid's works. The immense popularity of Ovid in the later Middle Ages is unquestionable, and this factor seems by extrapolation to have led to a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of his poetry in the earlier period.⁹³ The evidence produced to date has proved unclear. All of Ovid's major works

⁹¹ Boas, *Disticha Catonis*, p. 91, notes Horace as a probable source for the phrase.

⁹² With regard to parallel [6] the phrase *teres atque rotundus* is also found in Ausonius, *Carmina* VII.iii.5; cf. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 96–7. Likewise with respect to parallel [5], it should be observed that the phrase *dulcia poma* is also found in both Ovid (*Fasti* II.256) and in the *Appendix* to the occasional poems of Venantius Fortunatus (*Appendix carminum* IX.2 and XXVI.4), although in no case is the phrase used in same metrical position as in Aldhelm and Horace.

⁹³ On the transmission of Ovid, see *Handschriften*, pp. 62–72; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 257–84.

had separate circulation for most of the medieval period, and the lines of transmission are rather confused. Even with respect to the *Metamorphoses*, perhaps Ovid's single most influential work in the early Middle Ages, it is as well to remember with Tanner the remarkable fact that there is a 'total absence of extant complete manuscripts before the second half of the eleventh century'.⁹⁴ Indeed most Ovidian manuscripts of a similar age are fragmentary, and generally continental; no extant copy of the *Ibis* is definitely older than 1200. Insular manuscripts are notably deficient; the most important English witness to Ovid is the famous manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (s. ix, probably from Wales), a book associated with St Dunstan, and containing *Ars amatoria* I on fols. 37–47.⁹⁵

Convincing parallels with the works of Ovid amongst earlier Anglo-Latin poets are few, notwithstanding several rather fanciful scholarly attributions. Ogilvy notes possible Ovidian parallels in a wide range of Anglo-Latin authors, including Bede, Alcuin, Aediluulf, Boniface and Tatwine, but the great burden of alleged borrowing rests on Aldhelm.⁹⁶ Ogilvy seems to have been seduced by Manitius's citation of no less than twenty-six supposed parallels in the poetry of Aldhelm, covering almost the whole range of Ovid's extant works.⁹⁷ Most of the correspondences suggested by Manitius, however, will not stand closer inspection, and it is surely significant that Ehwald (himself a distinguished editor of Ovid) is far more circumspect than Manitius in attributing to Aldhelm a complete acquaintance with the works of Ovid. Evidence for first-hand knowledge of Ovid amongst other Anglo-Latin authors is even thinner: Peter Godman detects one rather doubtful Ovidian resonance in all the 1,658 lines of the *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*.⁹⁸ As for Aldhelm, it is a useful check on over-indulgence to recall that explicit reference to Ovid in the

⁹⁴ Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 276. Cf. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* II, 111–81.

⁹⁵ There is a complete facsimile of this manuscript in R. W. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury* (Leiden, 1961); see too M. C. Bodden, 'Detailed Description of Oxford Bodleian Manuscript Auct. F. 4. 32' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Toronto Univ., 1979).

⁹⁶ *Books Known to the English*, pp. 210–13.

⁹⁷ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 561–2.

⁹⁸ Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 151.

extant corpus begins' and ends in the quotation of a single wrongly attributed line in the *De pedum regulis* (DPR 169.17).⁹⁹

It is to be doubted whether Aldhelm knew more than Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in any depth. So, for example, Manitius attributes to Aldhelm a first-hand knowledge of the *Ars amatoria* on the basis of alleged parallels between Aldhelm and the two Ovidian cadences *voce canora* (*Ars* III.311; cf. *PdV* 269.1) and *cura pudoris* (*Ars* II.624; cf. *CdV* 129).¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, neither correspondence is specific enough to warrant such an attribution; both cadences are found in other sources which Aldhelm certainly knew.¹⁰¹ Likewise Ogilvy lists five alleged reminiscences of Ovid's *Fasti* in Aldhelm's works, but all evaporate upon closer inspection.¹⁰² The great majority of the sources alleged by both Manitius and Ehwald, are subject to the same reservations. If we discount those correspondences for which more plausible sources may be sought elsewhere, only the following nine previously noted parallels remain:

[1] <i>Candidior nivibus tunc cum cecidere recentes</i>	<i>Am</i> III.v.11
E <i>Candidior nivibus, dum ningit vellera nimbus</i>	<i>E</i> C.54
[2] <i>Candida iamdudum cingantur colla lacertis</i>	<i>Ars</i> II.457
M <i>Candida praepulchris complectens colla lacertis</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1715
[3] <i>Bacchantum ritu flagrantis circuit aras</i>	<i>Met</i> VII.258
E <i>Bacchantum ritu longis anfractibus errant</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1521
[4] <i>Inplevit pariter ternis latratibus auras</i>	<i>Met</i> VII.414
M <i>Frustra qui superas implent latratibus auras</i>	<i>CdV</i> 575
[5] <i>Rugosoque suum servantes cortice callem</i>	<i>Met</i> VII.626
M <i>Sum niger exterius rugoso cortice tectus</i>	<i>E</i> XL.1

⁹⁹ On this verse, see further above, p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 561.

¹⁰¹ The cadence *voce canora* is also found in Dracontius's *De laudibus Dei* I.251, on Aldhelm's knowledge of which see below, pp. 185–8; the cadence *cura pudoris* is likewise found in Prosper's *Epigrammata* LXXVI.3, on Aldhelm's acquaintance with which see below, pp. 183–5.

¹⁰² *Books Known to the English*, p. 212; of the five alleged parallels, four depend on perceived similarities of thought or substance all of which are commonplace or can be matched in more likely sources, whilst the fifth, which alone concerns identical diction, depends on the shared cadence *cultor agelli* (*Fasti* V.499 and *CdV* 2750), which Aldhelm may have deduced from the *cultor agello* of Juvenecus's *Historia evangeliorum* II.814. On Aldhelm's minute knowledge of Juvenecus's work, see below, pp. 161–2.

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| [6] | Coepit et haec missum <i>rauco cum murmure</i> saxum | <i>Met</i> XIII.567 |
| M | Garrio voce carens <i>rauco cum murmure</i> stridens | <i>E</i> XXI.5 |
| [7] | Summaque decurrit <i>pedibus super aequora siccis</i> | <i>Met</i> XIV.50 |
| M | Quin potius <i>pedibus</i> gradior <i>super aequora siccis</i> | <i>E</i> XXXVIII.6 |
| [8] | Cum sua foedari <i>latrantibus inguina</i> monstribus | <i>Met</i> XIV.60 |
| E | Auscultare procul, quae <i>latrant inguina</i> circum | <i>E</i> XCV.11 |
| [9] | Siquid habent veri <i>vatum praesagia</i> , vivam | <i>Met</i> XV.879 |
| M | Atque superna Dei <i>vatem praesagmina</i> ditem | <i>CdV</i> 304 |

That seven of these nine remaining parallels relate to the *Metamorphoses* is surely significant, and it is intriguing to note that further hitherto-unnoticed parallels cast doubt on the validity of the two apparent exceptions.¹⁰³ It seems likely that Aldhelm was familiar with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* alone, a supposition amply supported by the further previously unnoticed parallels in Appendix 4.1 below. Still more interesting, perhaps, is the observation that there is a highly disproportionate number of correspondences between Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, which appear to have been amongst his earliest compositions. Ogilvy has suggested that the *Metamorphoses* were 'probably the source of a good deal of Aldhelm's knowledge of mythology', while of the tale of Scylla's transformation, found in both Aldhelm (*E* XCV) and Ovid (*Met* XIII.730–XIV.74), Lapidge concludes that: 'it is difficult to know where Aldhelm found the story, if not in Ovid: no other Latin source earlier than Aldhelm contains precisely the information that Aldhelm includes'.¹⁰⁴ But Aldhelm expands Ovid's account, including extra material from Isidore's *Etymologiae*.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the opening verses of the *Enigma* read 'Ecce molosorum nomen mihi fata dederunt / (Argolicae gentis sic promit lingua loquelis)' ('Behold, the Fates

¹⁰³ So one might compare parallels [1] and [2] above with the following correspondences from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

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| [1] | Ambo conspicui <i>nive candioribus</i> ambo | VIII.371 |
| | <i>Candior nivibus</i> , dum ningit vellera nimbus | <i>E</i> C.54 |
| [2] | Coniugis ille suae <i>complexus colla lacertis</i> | I.733 |
| | <i>Candida praepulchris complectens colla lacertis</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1715 |

It seems possible in both these cases that in imitating one Ovidian phrase Aldhelm may have stumbled on another, so slender is the further evidence of Aldhelm's acquaintance with Ovid's erotic verse.

¹⁰⁴ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 212; *Poetic Works*, p. 254.

¹⁰⁵ The notion that sailors are frightened by the barking from Scylla's loins (*E* XCV.6–11) seems to derive from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.iii.32.

gave me the name of curs (so the tongue of Greek folk renders it in speech)'), and Aldhelm seems here to allude to an etymology deriving *Scylla* from Greek σκύλαξ ('puppy'), although this is not found either in Ovid or in Isidore.¹⁰⁶ It might be supposed that here we have a reflex of the sort of glossing from Greek which formed part of the range of studies available in the school at Canterbury, and for which we have ample evidence elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ This *Enigma*, then, provides a good example of the kind of confection of disparate sources which is the hallmark of Aldhelm's poetic technique. The subject-matter is drawn from Ovid, fleshed out with further material from Isidore and (presumably) the Canterbury classroom, whilst the diction is borrowed from the same passage of Ovid, together with a number of further echoes from the verses of (for example) Vergil, Sedulius and Venantius Fortunatus. As parallel [7] above demonstrates, the same passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* describing the story of Scylla also provided Aldhelm with a source for a further line on an unconnected subject elsewhere in his *Enigmata*, again demonstrating the economical way in which Aldhelm was able to use his remembered and repeated diction.

The influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* upon Aldhelm, moreover, may well extend beyond the level of borrowed diction. In another context Lapidge has indicated in Anglo-Latin poetry 'the extreme tendency to use nouns in *-amen* declined in the ablative singular or accusative plural to fill the requirement of the dactyl in the fifth foot of a hexameter'.¹⁰⁸ Such words are particularly frequent in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and still more common in Aldhelm's verse.¹⁰⁹ It is tempting to associate Aldhelm's fondness for the form with his first-hand knowledge of Ovid's poetic technique.

¹⁰⁶ *Poetic Works*, p. 254; see further the comments of R.I. Page, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England [2]: the Evidence of English Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages*, ed. Brooks, pp. 141–65, at 160–4.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek', pp. 169–70; Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries* (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems', p. 87.

¹⁰⁹ I count ninety-three examples of such words in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, compared with seventy-nine in Aldhelm's corpus. Other Anglo-Latin poets do not favour such words to the same degree. I count eighteen examples in Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, six in Boniface's *Enigmata*, and eleven in Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*. In the tenth century these forms come back into fashion; Frithgod has twenty-eight and Wulfstan thirty-nine in the first book of his *Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* alone.

Like Ovid, Statius was increasingly popular throughout the Middle Ages; Chaucer names him in his *Troilus and Criseyde* alongside Ovid, and with Vergil, Homer and Lucan.¹¹⁰ Reeve cites Garrod's comment concerning the later medieval period that 'Codicum Thebaidos tanta est multitudo ut iure suspiceris pluris per mediam aetatem librariorum quam per nostram lectores contigisse.'¹¹¹ Yet the earliest manuscript of Statius, containing both the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8051, written at Corbie, is no earlier than the ninth century. Reeve, following Klotz, suggests that the medieval tradition of at least the *Thebaid* radiated from northern France.¹¹² The transmissions of the less popular *Achilleid* and *Silvae* are still less clear. Alcuin lists Statius amongst the authors whose works were bequeathed to him at York, but his is the sole English testimony before the tenth century.¹¹³

Three English manuscripts containing all or part of the *Thebaid* survive from the later Anglo-Saxon period: British Library, Royal 15. C. X (s. x^{ex}, perhaps from Canterbury), Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q. 8, fols. 165–72 (Worcester, s. x/xi), and Cambridge, St John's College 87 (Dover Priory, s. xi); a still later English manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 (2657) (Sherborne, s. xi²), contains a copy of the *Achilleid*.¹¹⁴ The entry 'Glose Statii' is found in the inventory of books procured by Bishop Leofric for the church of Exeter (1069 x 1072), which Lapidge interprets as referring to a glossed copy of the *Thebaid* such as the Worcester manuscript already noted, whilst the anonymous *Vita Statii* follows the text of the *Thebaid* in the British Library book.¹¹⁵ Lapidge and

¹¹⁰ *Troilus and Criseyde*, line 1792. For the transmission of Statius, see Manitius, *Handschriften*, pp. 125–9; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 394–9; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques* II, 521–67.

¹¹¹ P. Papini *Statii Thebais et Achilleis*, ed. H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1906), p. v; quoted by Reeve in Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 394.

¹¹² Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 394.

¹¹³ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1554; see too Alcuin, ed. Godman, pp. lxxii–lxxiv and 152.

¹¹⁴ The manuscripts in question are nos. 497, 766, 151 and 535 respectively in Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List'.

¹¹⁵ Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 66 and 68; this last entry for Statius is omitted from the Index, p. 88.

Campbell have adduced evidence of first-hand borrowing from the *Thebaid* in compositions from tenth-century Winchester and Canterbury.¹¹⁶

Evidence of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of Statius in the earlier period is far less clear.¹¹⁷ Jaager offers a single correspondence in his edition of Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, pointing out that the phrase *maesta silentia* is common to both Bede (*Vita S. Cuthberti* 932) and Statius (*Thebaid* X.382; *Achilleid* II.i.68).¹¹⁸ Bede's knowledge of Statius remains a possibility. That there existed a Northumbrian text of Statius in Alcuin's day has already been indicated, although evidence of Alcuin's direct borrowing from Statius is not great. Of some seven correspondences with Statius noted by Peter Godman in his edition of Alcuin's longest poem only three involve matching words in identical feet, and the supposed isolation of a debt to the *Achilleid* in particular is doubtful.¹¹⁹ We are left with slight evidence of acquaintance with the fifth book of the *Silvae* and with the fifth and sixth books of the *Thebaid*.

There is a small body of evidence suggesting that Aldhelm knew the poetry of Statius, and that he imitated the diction of the *Thebaid* in particular. Evidence of Aldhelm's familiarity with Statius's *Achilleid* rests on the following single correspondence:

Nullaque <i>virginei</i> servantem signa pudoris	II.91
Hic se <i>virgineum</i> prodit servasse pudorem	CdV 746
Aurea <i>virgineo</i> lucrantem regna pudore	CdV 1843

A less close parallel (*virgineum* . . . *pudorem*) is found in a verse by Damasus (*Epigrammata* XVI.9), some of whose poetry Aldhelm clearly knew.¹²⁰ That the sole Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the *Achilleid* comes from Sherborne, where Aldhelm was bishop, provides a further intriguing, if insubstantial, link. The question of Aldhelm's acquaintance with the *Achilleid* of Statius must remain open. The evidence with respect to

¹¹⁶ Lapidge, 'Three Poems', pp. 114–15; *Frithegodi Monachi Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, ed. Campbell, pp. 20, 28, 100, 103, 124, 128, 154 and 158.

¹¹⁷ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 245.

¹¹⁸ Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita S. Cuthberti*, p. 130. That Jaager further indicates that the same phrase is also found in the works of Paulinus of Nola (*Carmina* IX.8) is of little consequence since the poem in question is not amongst those Bede can be shown to have known.

¹¹⁹ Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 152.

¹²⁰ See below, pp. 204–5.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Thebaid* is far more detailed. One might note, for example, the following correspondences:

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|---|---|
| [1] At Iovis imperiis rapidi super <i>atria caeli</i>
Viribus infractis pulsantes <i>atria caeli</i> | I. 197
<i>CdV</i> 1306 |
| [2] Incipit: O quam te parcum in <i>praeconia famae</i>
Paulus apostolicae meruit <i>praeconia famae</i> | II. 176
<i>CdV</i> 485 |
| [3] Oenomaus largis <i>umectant imbribus ora</i>
M Marcida qui riguis <i>umectant imbribus ora</i>
Tristia rorifluis <i>umectant imbribus ora</i> | IV. 591
<i>CE</i> I/II. 9
<i>CdV</i> 1907 |
| [4] <i>Flatibus alternis</i> aegroque effetus hiatu
<i>Flatibus alternis</i> vescor cum fratre gemello | VI. 873
<i>E</i> XI. 1 |
| [5] Limina ferratis incumbunt <i>tecta columnis</i>
Nec trabis in templo, surgunt nec <i>tecta columnis</i> | VII. 44
<i>E</i> LV. 9 |
| [6] <i>Ferrea</i> Cerebereae tacuerunt <i>limina</i> portae
<i>Ferrea</i> vectiferae fracturus <i>limina</i> valvae | VIII. 56
<i>CdV</i> 456 |
| [7] Ergo profanatum Menalippi <i>funus acerbo</i>
Horresco referens effebi <i>funus acerbum</i> | IX. 8
<i>CE</i> IV. vii. 29 |

Few of these parallels are individually convincing; correspondence [3], first noted by Manitius, remains the most cogent. Yet the sum of evidence, including further possible correspondences noted in Appendix 4.1, does seem compelling, and the conclusion that Aldhelm knew and infrequently imitated the *Thebaid* of Statius is attractive.

Claudian

Alongside the evidence for Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with the works of the secular Latin poets discussed so far should be considered the sparse indications of his knowledge of the Late Latin poet Claudian. Claudian's large corpus of surviving verse is preserved in a great number of late manuscripts; Hall notes over three hundred.¹²¹ The official nature of his panegyrics on the young emperor Honorius, his ministers, and especially the celebrated general Stilicho helped to ensure that Claudian's works received an immediate and enthusiastic audience, but it is his

¹²¹ *Apud* Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 143–5, at p. 143; see too *Handschriften*, pp. 221–4, and *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. Kristeller II, 147–72.

shorter occasional poems and descriptive pieces, in particular the unfinished *De raptu Proserpinae*, for which he is best remembered.¹²²

Yet Claudian seems to have been neglected in the early Middle Ages; the few rather dubious parallels adduced by Birt with regard to Carolingian poets are not impressive, and it is clear that their main model for panegyric verse was Fortunatus.¹²³ The only evidence that Claudian was known and read in Anglo-Saxon England comes from Aldhelm, and Ogilvy notes the citation of three verses in the course of Aldhelm's *De pedum regulis* (DPR 164.12, 172.6 and 182.22).¹²⁴ Since one of the three lines quoted has been thought to have influenced Aldhelm in the composition of a pair of his own verses (*CdV* 1159–60) there would seem at first glance promising evidence that Aldhelm, alone amongst Anglo-Saxons, was familiar with Claudian's verse. Unfortunately, however, as Cameron notes, two of the three verses quoted derive from the so-called *Epithalamium Laurentii*, which is considered a spurious work, whilst the third is also quoted by both Augustine and Orosius, who are plausible intermediate sources.¹²⁵ Furthermore, in no case does Aldhelm name Claudian in the course of his citations, and it is chastening for the source-hunter to consider that the only occasion on which 'Claudianus' is mentioned in Aldhelm's corpus is as one of a dreary host of examples of the metrical form *ditrocheon* in the *De pedum regulis* (DPR 176.14).

In noting the collapse of Ogilvy's evidence, Cameron points to a number of parallel passages between Aldhelm and Claudian indicated by Birt, without further critical comment.¹²⁶ In fact of the three correspondences chiefly noted, one is clearly a Vergilian borrowing, whilst the other two may be presented as follows:¹²⁷

¹²² For evidence of Claudian's great popularity throughout the later medieval period, see in particular M. Manitius, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter. 2. Claudianus', *Philologus* 49 (1890), 554–60; similar evidence with respect to knowledge of Claudian in England in this and later periods is presented by Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 420–4.

¹²³ *Claudiani Carmina*, ed. Birt, p. lxxx; cf. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 420.

¹²⁴ *Books Known to the English*, p. 115.

¹²⁵ *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 420, n. 2.

¹²⁶ Birt, *Claudiani Carmina*, p. lxxx.

¹²⁷ Birt notes the phrase *rerumque reliquit habenas* (CE III.5), and gives as parallel *rerumque . . . commendat habenas* (III Cons. 83); Ehwald rightly ignores this, and signals instead Vergil's *rerumque reliquit habenas* (*Aeneid* VII.600).

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- [1] Non ventus *quateret* puppes, non *machina* muros Ruf. I.219
B Sic *quassata* ruit simulacris *machina* lapsis CdV 1352

- [2] Dives Hydaspeis *augescat purpura gemmis* III Cons. 4
B *Augeo purpureis gemmarum* lumina fucis E XXIV.2

Only the second of these parallels is even remotely convincing; Birt's 'alia exempla infirmiora' are best passed over in silence. From my own survey I note only the following possible correspondences:

- [1] Tu licet occiduo maneas *sub cardine caeli* Ruf. II.274
Sic ego complector *sub caeli cardine* cuncta E C.8
Astriferum clausit quadrato *cardine caeli* CdV 259
Laetus concelebrat *sub caeli cardine* mundus CdV 1887
- [2] Vocibus ast illae prohibet *sententia patris* Prosp. 292
De quo caelestis fatur *sententia patris* CdV 310

Such correspondences, though again intriguing, are hardly conclusive.

But if the sum total of evidence for Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with Claudian is slight, the topic raises two interesting and related issues. Birt notes that in his edition of Aldhelm's works Giles prints a complete poem by Claudian appended without ascription to an anonymous letter from an Irishman to Aldhelm.¹²⁸ Jaffé relegates the verses to the footnotes in his later edition, whilst Ehwald omits them altogether.¹²⁹ The letter and poem, a short *Carmen paschale*, occur together on 25r–v of the Vienna manuscript which contains Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, towards the end of a section (1r–38v) devoted exclusively to letters associated with leading Anglo-Saxon churchmen, notably Boniface and Aldhelm; the *Carmina rhythmica* of Aldhelm and Æthilwald follow. Several of the letters in this part of the manuscript close with verse, both metrical and rhythmical; the citation of some twenty of Claudian's hexameters by an anonymous Irishman is in context therefore unremarkable. Furthermore, one might note two parallels between these very verses and Aldhelm's extant hexameter corpus, suggesting that Aldhelm did indeed read the poem:

- [1] Mente pater tantique dedit *consortia regni* XXIII.3
Ivit ad aeterni castus *consortia regni* CdV 795
- [2] Arcano stupuit *compleri viscera* partu XXIII.9
Nunc mea divinis *complentur viscera* verbis E LXXXIX.1

¹²⁸ Birt, *Claudian Carmina*, p. lxxx, n. 7; *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 99.

¹²⁹ *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, p. 34; *Opera*, p. 494.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

The second parallel seems particularly interesting; Claudian is describing the amazement of the Virgin Mary, about to give birth to Christ, the Word, whilst Aldhelm's *Enigma* deals with a book-cupboard filled with holy words. The verbal pun *arca* ('book-cupboard') and Claudian's *arcano . . . partu* is one which might have appealed to Aldhelm.

Aldhelm's use of the so-called *Epithalamium Laurentii* has already been noted. The poem is found in only two extant manuscripts, both of which contain verses by Claudian together with those of a number of other poets.¹³⁰ Proof of Aldhelm's direct knowledge of the *Epithalamium Laurentii* is therefore an uncertain basis upon which to conjecture acquaintance with the rest of Claudian's verse. It is, however, clear that Aldhelm had an intimate first-hand knowledge of this poem. To the correspondences previously noted by Manitius and Birt (the latter unacknowledged by any subsequent Anglo-Saxonist) I have been able to add several further parallels of my own, and note eight correspondences in Appendix 4.1 below. The most reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the evidence presented is that Aldhelm, alone amongst Anglo-Saxons, may indeed have had some first-hand knowledge of some works which have been attributed to Claudian; whether he would have acknowledged the true authorship of those works must remain uncertain.

Symphosius

It is, however, beyond question that Aldhelm was profoundly influenced by another secular Late Latin poet, namely Symphosius. The one hundred three-line *Enigmata* of Symphosius certainly provided Aldhelm with the model for his own collection of one hundred *Enigmata*.¹³¹ Evidence of first-hand knowledge by other Anglo-Latin authors is, however, less well-defined. Alcuin cites seven of the *Enigmata* of Symphosius in the course of his *Disputatio Pippini*, and in a single further poem apparently imitates another two verses.¹³² A further apparently Insular text, the

¹³⁰ *AL*, no. 743, pp. 225–9.

¹³¹ *Poetic Works*, pp. 62–3.

¹³² The *Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi iuuenis Pippini cum Albino scholastico* is ptd PL 101, 978–80; cf. Glorie, *Variae Collectiones*, CCSL 133A, 615–16. The imitations of Symphosius in Alcuin's *Carmina* can be summarised as follows (Alcuin's verses given first, and correspondences previously noted by Dümmler and Glorie indicated):

Collectanea formerly attributed to Bede, preserves five *Enigmata* by Symphosius alongside four by Aldhelm.¹³³ From England itself, however, Gneuss lists only two manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period containing texts of Symphosius, in each case alongside later Anglo-Latin *Enigmata* by Aldhelm, Tatwine and Eusebius.¹³⁴ Leland apparently saw another two such volumes containing *Enigmata* by the same four poets at Glastonbury and Waltham which have not survived.¹³⁵ However, despite the often extravagant claims to the contrary, there is no compelling evidence that any Anglo-Latin composer of *Enigmata* after Aldhelm was directly influenced by Symphosius.¹³⁶ Shared solutions often mask wholly different or potentially independent treatments, and an absence of borrowed diction or even of the sort of punning and parallelism so favoured by Symphosius surely points to no very profound influence upon these later poets.

One other body of Anglo-Saxon riddles is usually noted as providing evidence for the influence of Symphosius in Anglo-Saxon England, namely the vernacular *Riddles* found in the Exeter Book.¹³⁷ Yet here too the perceived influence of Symphosius has been greatly exaggerated in the past; whereas earlier scholars attempted to find Latin 'sources' for almost every

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| [1] <i>Nudus eat hospes, placeat cui ludere mecum</i> | XCII.i.1 |
| D <i>Non est nuda domus, sed nudus convenit hospes</i> | XC.1 |

- | | |
|--|----------|
| [2] <i>Nunc ligno vehitur, quondam qui ligna vehebat</i> | XCII.i.5 |
| G <i>In ligno vehitur, medio quae ligna vehebat</i> | LXXII.3 |

¹³³ The pseudo-Bedan *Collectanea* are ptd PL 94, 539–60. See too *BC-LL*, no. 1257, and cf. Glorie, *Variae Collectiones*, CCSL 133A, 615.

¹³⁴ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 12 and 478. The two manuscripts in question are Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}), and London, British Library, Royal 12. C. XXIII (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi). That there is some relationship between the texts has been noted; see K. O'B. O'Keeffe, 'The Text of Aldhelm's *Enigma* no. c in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 and Exeter Riddle 40', *ASE* 14 (1985) 61–73, at 64–6.

¹³⁵ J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London, 1770) IV, 154 and 161. See too Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 247, where he further notes that 'the *Aenigmata* appear twice in BM Royal 15. B. xix, a volume made up of three originally distinct MSS'. This portion of the manuscript, however, is not amongst those listed by Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 491, 492, 493 and 721.

¹³⁶ Glorie presents a number of alleged parallels between Symphosius, Tatwine and Eusebius, but in each case Aldhelm is the most likely intermediate source. See too Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, pp. xxxiv–xliv.

¹³⁷ These *Riddles* have been edited a number of times; the standard edition is still that in *ASPR* III, 180–210, 225 and 229–43.

one of the Old English *Riddles*, more recent editors have been more sanguine.¹³⁸ Williamson is typical in noting that 'of the one hundred solutions of Symphosius, some sixteen or seventeen are also solutions of the Old English *Riddles*. Three of the Old English *Riddles* . . . show the direct influence of Symphosius.'¹³⁹ One might even quibble with this poor total. Craig Williamson speaks of 'direct influence' without qualification, although the three Old English *Riddles* in question differ markedly from their Latin counterparts. By contrast we might consider two further Old English *Riddles* from the Exeter Book collection, each of which is a remarkably faithful translation of two of the *Enigmata* of Aldhelm, to the point where Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe could plausibly argue, on the basis of a number of dislocated lines and some variant readings in the Latin text, that the translator of one of these Old English *Riddles* was working from a particular Latin manuscript still extant.¹⁴⁰

Aldhelm remains therefore the prime witness for first-hand knowledge of Symphosius in Anglo-Saxon England. Verses from twelve separate *Enigmata* by Symphosius are cited on no fewer than thirteen occasions in the course of Aldhelm's *De metris* and *De pedum regulis*.¹⁴¹ On only two occasions is the poet named (*DM* 93.8 and 94.1), but in the introduction to his own *Enigmata* Aldhelm makes his model clear, saying (*DM* 75.21–76.1): 'Nam Simfosius poeta, versificus metricae artis peritia praeditus, occultas enigmatum propositiones exili materia sumpta ludi-bundis apicibus legitur cecinisse et singulas quasque propositionum formulas tribus versiculis terminasse.'¹⁴² What is surely most intriguing about this statement is not that Aldhelm should cite Symphosius as a predecessor, but that he should depart so radically from his alleged model. The differences between the *Enigmata* of Aldhelm and those of Symphosius

¹³⁸ For an attempt to derive almost every Old English *Riddle* from a Latin source, see A. Prehn, 'Komposition und Quellen der Rätsel des Exeterbuches', *Neuphilologische Studien* 3 (1883), 143–285; cf. Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, pp. xxxvii–xliv.

¹³⁹ *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Text of Aldhelm's *Enigma* no. c'; see above, n. 134.

¹⁴¹ *DM* 93.9, 94.2, 95.15, 95.22, 96.3 and 96.5; *DPR* 154.20, 154.22, 154.24, 160.6, 167.19, 167.21 and 197.11.

¹⁴² 'For the poet Symphosius, a versifier endowed with the skill of the metrical art, is said to have sung the hidden representations of *Enigmata* with meagre material composed in playful language, and to have ended every single arrangement of the representations in three short verses.'

are very great indeed, as Scott has demonstrated in detail.¹⁴³ Even at the purely formal level, Aldhelm's *Enigmata* cannot in any sense be said to be composed *ludibundis apicibus* ('in playful language'), whilst they comprise anything from four to eighty-three hexameters, with the average length some 7.65 lines. The riddling element has all but disappeared, and Lapidge suggests that in Aldhelm's case the *Enigmata* are 'better understood as "Mysteries"', since this leans towards Aldhelm's own thrice-repeated preoccupation in his verse of *pandens misteria rerum* ('revealing the mysteries of things').¹⁴⁴ The *Enigmata*, in the collection by Symphosius, generally describe subjects which are rather banal, ordinary, and everyday: the first six are 'Stylus', 'Reed', 'Ring', 'Key', 'Chain' and 'Roof-Tile'. Aldhelm deals with loftier topics: his first six *Enigmata* consider 'Earth', 'Wind', 'Cloud', 'Nature', 'Rainbow' and 'Moon'. Aside from cosmology and meteorology Aldhelm's other interests, such as botany and zoology, are fully represented, and no less than forty-eight of the *Enigmata* deal with plants or animals real and imagined with, as Laurence Cameron has indicated, a keen naturalist's eye.¹⁴⁵ But it is the heavily didactic element which Aldhelm first introduced to the Latin *Enigmata*, and which was to prove his lasting legacy, since an element of the classroom influences all subsequent Anglo-Latin poets in the genre. The very context of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, which occur in the midst of an exposition on Latin metrics, supports the notion of their didactic function, and this notion gains further credence from the large number of *Enigmata* which deal with either classroom objects or exotic and necessarily book-learned topics. In the first category we find, for example, *Enigmata* on 'Alphabet', 'Writing-Tablets', 'Quill Pen' and 'Book-Cupboard';¹⁴⁶ in the second we find 'Diamond', 'Peacock', 'Salamander', 'Dragon-Stone', 'Minotaur', 'Lion', 'Ostrich', 'Unicorn', 'Colossus', 'Lighthouse', 'Scylla', 'Elephant' and 'Camel'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ P. D. Scott, 'Rhetorical and Symbolic Ambiguity: the Riddles of Symphosius and Aldhelm', *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*, ed. M. H. King, and W. M. Stevens, 2 vols. (Collegeville, MN, 1979) II, 117-44.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, CE IV.x.6; CdV 837 and 1630. The Preface to the *Enigmata* speaks more plainly of the possibility of being able *pandere rerum versibus enigmata . . . clandestina* (E P.7-8).

¹⁴⁵ M. L. Cameron, 'Aldhelm as a Naturalist: a Re-Examination of Some of his *Enigmata*', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 117-33.

¹⁴⁶ E XXX, XXXII, LVIX and LXXXIX.

¹⁴⁷ E IX, XIV, XV, XXVIII, XXXIX, XLII, LX, LXXII, XCII, XCV, XCVI and XCIX.

There is no similar didactic element in the *Enigmata* of Symphosius whatsoever, and indeed that 'Symphosius' (the name seems to mean 'banqueteer') conceived his audience as far from the classroom is evident in a succession of *Enigmata* on 'Earthenware Jar', 'Spiced Wine', 'Wine turned to Vinegar' (*E* LXXXII–LXXXIV); as he says himself in the introductory verses appended to the collection (Praefatio 15) *Da veniam, lector, quod non sapit ebria Musa* ('Forgive me, reader, since no wisdom comes from a drunken Muse').

Since the influence of Symphosius upon Aldhelm's ideas of the form and function of *Enigmata* already discussed has been detected only at a rather superficial level, it is perhaps unsurprising that his direct and demonstrable influence upon Aldhelm's poetic diction is similarly limited. As Frederick Tupper, who elsewhere rightly describes Aldhelm as a 'mighty lifter', says 'Between the enigmas of Symphosius the verbal resemblances are not great. Indeed, the same subjects are often treated by the two in a very different fashion. Like Symphosius, Aldhelm makes the dumb nature of inanimate things speak, but for this personification he pleads the precedent of the Bible' (*DM* 76–7).¹⁴⁸ Perhaps the most convincing correspondences include the following, most of which have been previously noted by Glorie:

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| [1] <i>Annua Saturni dum tempora festa redirent</i> | P.3 |
| <i>Annua dum redeunt texendi tempora telas</i> | <i>E</i> XII.1 |
| <i>Annua dum redeunt celebrandis tempora festis</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2221 |
| [2] <i>Nox mihi dat nomen primo de tempore noctis</i> | XXVIII.1 |
| <i>Tempore de primo noctis mihi nomen adhaesit</i> | <i>E</i> LVIII.1 |
| [3] <i>Incolumi dorso telis confixus acutis</i> | XXIX.2 |
| <i>Insuper assandum veribus transfixit acutis</i> | <i>CE</i> IV.vii.26 |
| [4] <i>Culmina de facili peragrans super ardua gressu</i> | XXXV.2 |
| G <i>Scando catervatim volitans super ardua pennis</i> | <i>E</i> XXXVI.2 |
| <i>Tres digiti totum versant super ardua corpus</i> | <i>E</i> LXXIV.8 |
| [5] <i>Quattuor insignis pedibus manibusque duabus</i> | XXXIX.1 |
| <i>Me pedibus manibusque simul fraudaverat almus</i> | <i>E</i> LXXI.1 |
| [6] <i>Mordeo mordentes, ultro non mordeo quemquam</i> | XLIV.1 |
| G <i>Torqueo torquentes, sed nullum torqueo sponte</i> | <i>E</i> XLVI.1 |

¹⁴⁸ Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, pp. xxxii and xxxiv.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

[7]	Findere <i>me nulli possunt</i> , praecidere multi	LVIII. 1
G	Cernere <i>me nulli possunt</i> , nec prendere palmis	E II. 1
[8]	Lumen habens intus diuinis <i>sideris instar</i>	LXVII. 2
G	Cum <i>me vita foveat</i> , sum clari <i>sideris instar</i>	E XLIV. 7
[9]	Quattuor <i>aequales</i> currunt ex arte <i>sorores</i>	LXXIX. 1
G	Nos sumus <i>aequales</i> communi sorte <i>sorores</i>	E LXVI. 1
[10]	Robida, <i>curua, capax</i> , alienis humida guttis	LXXXIX. 1
G	Horrida, <i>curua, capax</i> , patulis fabricata metallis	E XLIX. 1

The distribution of correspondences seen here is particularly interesting. Practically every parallel is specifically restricted to Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, although in the case of a number of these correspondences (nos. [3], [4] and [9], for example) there seems nothing in the borrowed phrase itself which would be inappropriate in others of Aldhelm's works. Moreover many parallels comprise phrases drawn from the opening line of one or other of Symphosius's *Enigmata* repeated in the opening line of an *Enigma* by Aldhelm. By contrast, of the thirteen verses by Symphosius cited by Aldhelm in the course of the metrical treatises, only two are from the opening line of the *Enigma*, a figure rather less than mathematical probability would imply. This observation, coupled with the fact that there is surprisingly little overlap between the verses quoted in the *De metris* and *De pedum regulis* and those apparently imitated here, underlines the disparity between the verses Aldhelm quotes and those he copies.

It would seem from this focus on the opening lines of the *Enigmata* that Aldhelm uses a verse from Symphosius as the impetus for his own work; more important, perhaps, is the observation that in no case does the borrowing extend beyond the purely formal and verbal level. The solutions to these linked *Enigmata* are as follows:

Enigmata Symphosii

XXVIII Bat
XXXIX Centaur
XLIV Onion
LVIII Hair
LXXIX Wheels
LXXXIX Strigil

Enigmata Aldhelmi

LVIII Evening Star
LXXI Fish
XLVI Nettle
II Wind
LXVI Sun and Moon
XLIX Cauldron

There seems no connection in subject-matter whatsoever; Aldhelm's

borrowing is restricted in a way which has characterized his use of Symphosius throughout. As with all his remembered reading, Aldhelm takes from his source what he requires for his purpose in a deliberate and careful fashion, in sharp contrast to the slavish imitation of most later authors.

Notwithstanding such reservations, however, it is quite clear that Aldhelm's knowledge of secular Latin verse was wide, a fertile source of inspiration for his own compositions, certainly including works by Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius, and perhaps too those of Horace, Juvenal and Persius, amongst others. But even given this range of remembered reading, Aldhelm can be seen to draw most extensively of all on the works of Christian Latin poets such as Juvenius, Sedulius, Fortunatus or Arator, whose themes and diction Aldhelm plundered with relish.

CHRISTIAN LATIN POETS

Juvenius and Cyprianus Gallus

First of these Christian authors in time was the Spanish poet Juvenius (who flourished c. 330), who wrote a highly successful Latin verse epic on the gospel story in an attempt to wean readers away from pagan poetry.¹⁴⁹ The work proved popular at once; Peter Godman notes that 'Juvenius is the only poet whom Jerome included in his *De viris illustribus*'.¹⁵⁰ His later popularity in Anglo-Saxon England is likewise assured.¹⁵¹ Bede makes free use of Juvenius in his *De arte metrica* and elsewhere, whilst Alcuin lists him among the authors in York Library; Manilius detected traces of Juvenius's influence on Boniface.¹⁵² A book containing the poetry of Juvenius was

¹⁴⁹ *Juvenius: Libri Evangeliorum libri quattuor*, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 24 (Vienna, 1891); see too Herzog, *Die Bibelepik*, pp. 52–97; Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 70–6 and 151–4; J.-M. Poinssotte, *Juvenius et Israël: la représentation des Juifs dans le premier poème latin chrétien* (Paris, 1979). On the transmission of Juvenius, see *Handschriften*, pp. 169–71.

¹⁵⁰ Godman, *Alcuin*, p. lxxx, citing the edition of C. A. Bernoulli (Leipzig, 1895), p. 45. Cf. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, pp. 31–6; and Glauche, 'Die Rolle der Schulaufgaben', p. 623.

¹⁵¹ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 190; Manilius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 568–71 and 618–19; Godman, *Alcuin*, p. 149.

¹⁵² Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 190; Alcuin, *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1551.

amongst those donated by Sæwold to the church of Saint-Vaast in Arras c. 1070, and Gneuss lists no less than six manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England which contain texts of Juvenius's *Libri Evangeliorum*.¹⁵³ Further evidence of the central role of Juvenius in the late Anglo-Saxon curriculum is provided by Lapidge.¹⁵⁴

Aldhelm cites Juvenius eight times in the course of his metrical treatises, four times by name.¹⁵⁵ None of the cited verses can be shown to have influenced Aldhelm's poetic diction in his own work, but Manitius and Ehwald suggest nearly eighty further parallels between Aldhelm's verse and all four books of Juvenius's epic, indicating ready familiarity with the work.¹⁵⁶ Many of these correspondences are scarcely specific, but the sheer quantity is suggestive; further previously unnoticed correspondences are included in Appendix 4.1 below. In all events, it is clear that Juvenius proved a much-used model for Aldhelm.

The success of Juvenius's verse version of the gospels inspired several imitators. The name Cyprianus Gallus is usually given to the author of an extensive poetic paraphrase of the Heptateuch.¹⁵⁷ The portion of the work which deals with the biblical book of Exodus was clearly well-known in Anglo-Saxon England, being quoted by Bede and Alcuin, and imitated by both Aediluulf and the anonymous author of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*.¹⁵⁸ Gneuss notes a single tenth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing the verse portions of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deutero-

¹⁵³ See Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', p. 60; Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 87, 6, 489, 540, 903 and 12. The manuscripts in question are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 304 (Italy, s. viii¹, provenance Christ Church, Canterbury); Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4. 42 (Welsh origin, s. ix²); London, British Library, Royal 15. A. XVI (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. ix/x); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 25 (6463) (s. x); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2410 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xiⁱⁿ); Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}).

¹⁵⁴ Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 108–13.

¹⁵⁵ DM 85.12 and 85.14; DPR 154.3, 156.11, 158.31, 174.15, 186.15–6 and 194.24.

¹⁵⁶ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 568–71.

¹⁵⁷ The work is ed. R. Peiper, *Cypriani Galli Poetae Heptateuchos*, CSEL 23 (Vienna, 1891). On the work, see Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 92–6; Herzog, *Die Bibelepik*, pp. 99–106; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 543–54.

¹⁵⁸ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 126; D. Nodes, 'Cyprianus Gallus', in *Trial Version*, pp. 80–2.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

nomyn from St Augustine's, Canterbury, now Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 1. 42 (40).¹⁵⁹

But once again it is Aldhelm who provides the principal English witness in the early period, leading Giles to make the now firmly discredited suggestion that Aldhelm might have composed the poetic paraphrase of the Heptateuch himself.¹⁶⁰ Aldhelm remains the only English author to cite from the portions of the work drawn from Numbers, Judges and Kings. Aldhelm employs illustrative quotations from the work attributed to Cyprianus Gallus five times in the course of his metrical treatises (*DM* 80.12 and 92.12; *DPR* 158.3, 158.5 and 189.32); in no case does he name the author whom he cites. Indeed for two of the verses quoted, the manuscript evidence is deficient and Aldhelm is the only witness at all. Such a range of citation implies a certain familiarity, which indeed seems indicated by other evidence that Aldhelm imitated a number of these verses freely. Several parallels are noted in Appendix 4.1 below, supplementing evidence for Aldhelm's knowledge of the work already noted by Wright.¹⁶¹

The quantity of potential correspondences is more impressive than their quality, but it is surely significant that plausible parallels can be found for each of the books which Aldhelm quotes in his metrical treatises, thereby implying a degree of familiarity. Clearly this verse paraphrase of the Old Testament was almost as well known to Aldhelm as the poetic retellings of the New Testament which he found in two of his favourite poets, Sedulius and Arator.

Sedulius and Arator

Caelius Sedulius, an Italian poet of the later fifth century, composed a verse account of Christ's life and miracles, the so-called *Carmen paschale*, which was to prove one of the best-read texts throughout the medieval period.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', no. 159; cf. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 19–20.

¹⁶⁰ Giles, *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. viii–ix. The suggestion was demolished in detail by R. Peiper, *Alcimi Aviti Opera*, MGH, Auct. antiq. 6.2 (Berlin, 1883), liii–lxiii.

¹⁶¹ Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', pp. 138, nn. 31 and 144.

¹⁶² *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 1885), 1–146. On transmission, see *Handschriften*, pp. 268–72; C. P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: the Carmen Paschale of Caelius Sedulius* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 128–50. Cf.

The work was certainly popular in Anglo-Saxon England, and is echoed and quoted in a large number of Insular texts.¹⁶³ Several manuscripts of the *Carmen paschale* survive from Anglo-Saxon England, together with a number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the detailed Carolingian commentary on Sedulius's poem prepared by Remigius of Auxerre, suggesting that the work was closely studied.¹⁶⁴ Sedulius's name heads Alcuin's list of Christian-Latin poets available at York, and occurs in no fewer than four further Anglo-Saxon booklists.¹⁶⁵ Bede knew and quoted Sedulius often, most famously adducing the prose and verse parts of Sedulius's *Opus paschale* as Aldhelm's direct literary model for his own *opus geminatum* on virginity (HE V. 18).¹⁶⁶ Peter Godman lists twenty-five potential borrowings from the *Carmen paschale* in Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, and possible parallels have been noted with regard to the poetry of Tatwine and Coena of York, as well as in the heavily derivative *Miracula Nynie episcopi*.¹⁶⁷ Insular authors as diverse in time, place and temperament as Asser and Wulfstan of Winchester freely use Sedulius's verse for their own purposes.¹⁶⁸ Aldhelm's pupil Æthilwald speaks for generations of Anglo-Saxons when he speaks of Sedulius as a famous and erudite poet (Æth II. 7–12).

For Aldhelm Sedulius was, after Vergil, the single most important verse influence. The debt can be measured in many ways. Aside from thirty citations in the course of the metrical treatises, Aldhelm quotes Sedulius five times in the prose *De virginitate*, and introduces or refers to lines from

Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, pp. 31–6; and 'Die Rolle der Schulautoren', p. 623.

¹⁶³ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 239–40; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 575–9 and 621–2; Alcuin, ed. Godman, pp. lxix–lxxi, 151; Wright, 'The *Hisperica Famina* and Caelius Sedulius'.

¹⁶⁴ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 12, 53, 253, 652, 890 and 903 (Sedulius); 120 and 735 (Remigius). The Sedulius manuscripts in question are Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's Canterbury, s. xi^{med}); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fols. 57–81 (s. viii); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 7. 7 (Thorney, s. x^{ex}); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. th. c. 4 (S.C.1926) (?Worcester, s. x²); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8092 (s. xi); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2410 (?Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xiⁱⁿ).

¹⁶⁵ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1551; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 46, 51, 60 and 70 (twice).

¹⁶⁶ See too, VBOH II, 311; cf. Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *opus geminatum*', pp. 219–20.

¹⁶⁷ Alcuin, ed. Godman, p. 151; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 239.

¹⁶⁸ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 239.

the *Carmen paschale* three times in his own verse (*E* LXIII.7 = *CP* I.175; *CdV* 1443 = *CPI* I.219; *CdV* 2772 = *CP* P.13–14). It is intriguing to note that twenty-two of these thirty-eight citations are drawn from the first book of the *Carmen paschale*, together with three more from the short *Prologue*, leaving only fifteen examples taken from the last four books combined, a remarkable imbalance perhaps demonstrating that when searching for illustrative material Aldhelm turned naturally to the beginning of his favourite work; a rather less pronounced imbalance is to be observed in Aldhelm's demonstrable borrowings from Sedulius in his verse, although he clearly knew and copied from all five books. Like Vergil, Sedulius is used freely by Aldhelm, and often without explanation. Sedulius is named only six times throughout Aldhelm's work (*DM* 85.15 and 89.9; *DPR* 153.17, 162.8, 173.22 and 181.18), but his unnamed hand is everywhere. Again, like Vergil, Sedulius is often introduced as simply *poeta* or indeed without any introduction at all. Aldhelm confidently assumes knowledge in his audience. Once only does Aldhelm offer a valuation of Sedulius, who is described quite simply as 'an outstanding poet endowed with metrical eloquence' (*PdV* 232.4).

Manitius notes nearly one hundred parallels between Aldhelm and the *Carmen paschale*, a list slightly modified by Ehwald.¹⁶⁹ Neil Wright has greatly added to the tally,¹⁷⁰ and I have been able to supplement his findings still further; the more striking parallels are noted in Appendix 4.1 below. The sheer weight of evidence indicates that Aldhelm possessed a minute knowledge of Sedulius which he was able to use to full advantage.

It is therefore interesting to speculate whether Aldhelm was also acquainted with a number of poems which circulate alongside the attested verse of Sedulius in many manuscripts. Two such poems in particular suggest themselves, a pair of acrostic-telestic works attributed to 'Belesarius scholasticus' and 'Liberatus scholasticus' respectively in which both the first and last letters of each line read *SEDULIUS ANTISTES*.¹⁷¹ This rare verse-form is certainly the one upon which Aldhelm modelled his own acrostic-telestic preface to the *Enigmata*, reading *ALDHELMUS CECINIT*

¹⁶⁹ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 575–9.

¹⁷⁰ These parallels form part of the argument for Neil Wright's forthcoming study of the Anglo-Latin hexameter; I am grateful to him for permission to quote them here, and for much profitable subsequent discussion.

¹⁷¹ Both poems are ed. Huemer as nos. 2a and 2b of his appendix, pp. 307–9; there is another edition in Riese, *AL*, nos. 492 and 493.

MILLENIS VERSIBUS ODAS, but it is not found elsewhere in any verses which Aldhelm can be shown to have read.¹⁷² Moreover the verses were clearly known in late Anglo-Saxon England, since they are found in relevant Sedulius manuscripts from the period.¹⁷³ Unfortunately the only parallels of diction which I have detected between these poems and Aldhelm's own verse are too commonplace to establish certain acquaintance, but strong circumstantial evidence clearly points that way; other acrostic verses associated with the Anglo-Saxon school at Canterbury provided a far less close model.¹⁷⁴ If it was indeed the case that Aldhelm modelled his preface to the *Enigmata* on these verses, this would simply underline the overwhelming importance of Sedulius as a verse influence.

Arator completed his poem *De actibus apostolorum*, a hexameter version of part of the biblical Acts of the Apostles, in the year 544, giving a public performance of his work to great acclaim in Rome the same year.¹⁷⁵ A quotation from *De actibus apostolorum* I.1070–6 seems to have been inscribed on a wall of St Peter ad Vincula in Rome, to judge from citation in a number of latter collections of epigraphical verse.¹⁷⁶ Wright has recently reviewed McKinlay's evidence of influence upon Arator by previous poets, and indicates amongst his sources the Classical poets Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius and Juvenal, as well as several Late and

¹⁷² See Wright's comments, 'Imitations of Paulinus of Nola', p. 140, n. 36, and especially R. Ehwald, 'De aenigmatibus Aldhelmi et acrostichis', *Festschrift Albert von Bamberg* (Gotha, 1905), pp. 1–26, at 25–6.

¹⁷³ Both poems are found, for example, on 84r of the so-called 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35, already noted above, Gneuss no. 12. This makes a nonsense of Ogilvy's contention that 'Belisarius Scholasticus' acrostic on [Sedulius] probably did not reach England until after our [*scil.* Anglo-Saxon] period' (*Books Known to the English*, p. 240).

¹⁷⁴ See particularly the notes on the acrostic Sibylline verse below, pp. 195–200.

¹⁷⁵ Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* I, 167–9; K. Thraede, 'Nachträge zum Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Arator', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 4 (1961), 187–96. Cf. *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. Kristeller I, 241–7; The standard edition is that of A. P. McKinlay, ed., *Aratoris Subdiaconi De Actibus Apostolorum*, CSEL 72 (Vienna, 1951).

¹⁷⁶ See the comments of de Rossi, *ICUR* II, 110, n. 64; cf. McKinlay, *Aratoris Subdiaconi De Actibus Apostolorum*, p. xxviii and Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, pp. 118–19. See too Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams', pp. 36–7; and his *Religion and Literature in Western England*, pp. 218–19. I shall be supplementing Sims-Williams's arguments for Anglo-Saxon connections for some of these epigraphical collections below, pp. 203–12.

Christian Latin poets including Claudian, Juvenecus and (in particular) Sedulius.¹⁷⁷ Most of these poets also shaped Aldhelm's poetic diction, and the fact that both Aldhelm and Arator shared and used a common poetic heritage makes the detection of significant parallels more than usually hazardous.

It is, however, certain that Arator was known and studied in England throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁷⁸ Apart from his inclusion in Alcuin's list of Christian-Latin poets in the York library, Arator's name occurs on two further surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁷⁹ Bede cites Arator in his *De arte metrica* and, more significantly, mentions his particular debt to the *De actibus apostolorum* in the preface to his *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, noting 'In quo me opusculo, cum alii plurimi fidei catholicae scriptores, tum maxime iuuauit Arator, sanctae romanae ecclesiae subdiaconus, qui ipsum ex ordine librum heroico carmine percurrans nonnullos in eodem metro allegoriae flores admiscuit, occasionem mihi tribuens uel alia ex his colligendi uel eadem planius exponendi.'¹⁸⁰ Patrick Sims-Williams has demonstrated that the Southumbrian Burginda was indebted to Arator for the second part of her only extant letter.¹⁸¹ In the later Anglo-Saxon period, Byrhtferth of Ramsey cited a couplet from Arator's work, and there is evidence that his poem was keenly studied in the schools, as Lapidge has shown, in noting five manuscripts containing Arator's work which are of pre-Conquest English origin.¹⁸² Aldhelm

¹⁷⁷ Wright, 'Arator's Use of Caelius Sedulius', p. 51.

¹⁷⁸ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 76–7; L. T. Martin, 'The Influence of Arator in Anglo-Saxon England', *Proceedings of the Patristic, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Conference, Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University* 7 (1985), 75–82; Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Text', pp. 116–24.

¹⁷⁹ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1552; Arator's name occurs in the inventory of books donated by Bishop Leofric to the church of Exeter (1069 x 1072), and (twice) on a further booklist from an unidentified centre, perhaps Worcester (s. xi^{ex}). See Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 49, 66 and 70.

¹⁸⁰ 'And in this work, very many writers of the the catholic faith have helped me, but most of all Arator, a sub-deacon of the Holy Roman Church, who went through that book [Acts] in order in heroic poetry and added several flowers of allegory in the same metre, providing me with the opportunity either of collecting other things from these or of explaining the same things more plainly'; quoted in *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractio*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner (Cambridge, MA, 1939), p. 3.

¹⁸¹ P. Sims-Williams, 'An Unpublished Seventh- or Eighth-Century Anglo-Latin Letter in Boulogne-Sur-Mer MS 74 (82)', *MÆ* 48 (1979), 1–22, at 14–15.

¹⁸² Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', pp. 116–24.

appears to have known the *De actibus apostolorum*, including the introductory epistolary verses to Vigilius, at first hand. Arator is cited seven times in the course of Aldhelm's metrical treatises, and in each case his name is mentioned or implied.¹⁸³ Indeed on the first occasion on which Arator's name is invoked, Aldhelm notes Arator's authority and poetic ability with uncharacteristic approval, putting forward a particular view of certain ecclesiastical matters 'de quibus Arator poetica facundia fretus refert' (*DM* 70.21).

But despite this impressive evidence of knowledge of Arator in Anglo-Saxon England, secure examples of his direct influence on Anglo-Latin poetic diction are rather few, perhaps for the reason already noted that Arator can be viewed as very much a product of the same long tradition of epic Latin verse which fostered the Anglo-Saxon poets.¹⁸⁴ The deficiencies of McKinlay's generally over-inflated *Index scriptorum* in his edition of Arator have been well documented by Wallach and Wright; it is therefore curious to note that outside the metrical treatises McKinlay recognizes only six parallels between Aldhelm and Arator, five of which depend on the same Aldhelmian verse.¹⁸⁵ The list offered by Manitius is scarcely more convincing.¹⁸⁶ Of ten proposed parallels, five are too nebulous or ambiguous to merit serious consideration; the remainder, which include McKinlay's parallels, can be summed up as follows:

[1]	Primus apostolico parva <i>de puppe vocatus</i>	I.70
M	Quando piscantem panda <i>de puppe vocavit</i>	CE IV.i.12
[2]	Hunc numerum Deus unus habet, <i>substantia simplex</i>	I.157
M	Sit Deus et numerum triplicat <i>substantia simplex</i>	II.901
	Est namque in deitate manens <i>substantia simplex</i>	CdV 38
[3]	Lector docte, pias et tecum <i>mente sagaci</i>	I.404
M	Qui fuit, ut fertur, donatus <i>mente sagaci</i>	CdV 1129
	Vertitur in rabiem fraudatus <i>mente sagaci</i>	CdV 1480

¹⁸³ *DM* 71.1-2, 80.21, 80.23, 92.28 and 93.3, *DPR* 153.6 and 153.8.

¹⁸⁴ Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ L. Wallach, review of McKinlay's edition in *Speculum* 29 (1954), 145-50; Wright, 'Arator's Use of Caelius Sedulius', pp. 52-6; *Aratoris Subdiaconi De Actibus Apostolorum*, ed. McKinlay, p. 234. The verse in question (I.1076) is likewise imitated by Alcuin, perhaps through the intermediary of Aldhelm; it is in any case interesting to note that this verse closes the epigraphical extract from St Peter ad Vincula in Rome, which occurs in three manuscript collections with English links, of which one is specifically connected to Rome.

¹⁸⁶ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 580.

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| [4] | <i>Claviger aethereus</i> caelum conspexit apertum | I.899 |
| M | Claudit iter bellis <i>qui portam pandit</i> in astris | I.1076 |
| | <i>Claviger aetherius, portam qui pandis</i> in aethra | CE I.6 |
| | <i>Claviger aethereus, qui portam pandit</i> in aethra | CE IV.i.2 |

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|-----|--|----------|
| [5] | Quicquid in hoc utero <i>fecunda puerpera</i> gessit | II.149 |
| M | Desponsata proco <i>fecunda puerpera</i> virgo | CdV 1677 |

These five parallels, whilst both individually and collectively quite convincing, scarcely match the apparent interest in Arator which Aldhelm exhibits in his metrical treatises. The borrowings demonstrated here, however, can be assessed on at least three levels. In the first case one might consider mere borrowings of diction, as in examples [3] and [5] above, where Aldhelm has simply fitted lexical elements from Arator's verse into recognizable patterns of his own, without attempting to assimilate any of the thought or context of Arator's words. So in example [3] Aldhelm employs the phrase *mente sagaci*, derived from Arator, as a mere metrical tag to the medial verbal forms (*donatus* and *fraudatus* – both scanned as *molossi*) which characterize his own verse-technique. Again, in example [5] the phrase *fecunda puerpera* is integrated into a common Aldhelmian pattern of syntax, with rhyme underlining the main medial caesura. This simple borrowing at the basic level of poetic diction is fundamental to Aldhelm's poetic technique, as the bulk of the evidence demonstrates, but seems far less important in the case of Aldhelmian borrowing from Arator, whose influence is best detected at other more subtle levels. A second pattern of borrowing is illustrated in example [4], where an entire verse is concocted by Aldhelm from a number of phrases from Arator. Such free combination of the characteristic diction of another poet is the hallmark of Aldhelm's verse, but surely implies ready familiarity with that poet's work. A similar conclusion may be drawn from a consideration of the remaining examples [1] and [2], in which a third pattern of Aldhelmian borrowing is evident. In each case the identity of diction is symptomatic of Arator's greater influence at the thematic level. In example [1] both Aldhelm and Arator are describing St Peter, and whilst only the phrase indicated is repeated by Aldhelm verbatim, there are enough near-echoes and parallels of theme and form to establish that Aldhelm is deeply indebted to Arator throughout the whole of this *Carmen ecclesiasticum*.¹⁸⁷ Again in example [2] the repetition of the phrase *substantia simplex* is the most obvious indication that throughout

¹⁸⁷ See too parallel [4] above, and parallel [9] below.

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this passage Aldhelm is paralleling Arator's rather neat account of the Trinity and the indivisible nature of God.

Manitius's list, moreover, is easy to supplement. Ehwald, for example, first noted the verbal correspondence of the following passages:¹⁸⁸

*Pelleret ut Paulus crescentia frigora nimbis,
Contulerat sarmenta focus, cui vipera fixit
Daemonis arma ferens surgentibus obvia flammis
Antiqua feritate manum gelidique veneni
Vulnus in igne dedit.*

II.1156–60

*Dum sarmenta pius glomeraret Paulus ad ignem,
Torribus ut pellat brumosis frigora nimbis,
Vipera dira manum letali dente momordit;
Sed Paulus gelidum non sensit vulnere virus
Laedere nec sanctum valuit crudele venenum*

CE IV.ii.24–8

The contexts for each of these passages are identical; the story is derived from Acts XXVIII.2–3, which in the Vulgate version reads 'Accensa enim pyra reficiebant nos omnes propter imbrem et *frigus*. Cum congregasset autem *Paulus sarmentorum* aliquantam multitudinem et inposuisset super ignem *vipera* a calore cum processisset invasit *manum* eius.' Despite obvious verbal parallels between the biblical account and both verse versions, highlighted here in italics, it is evident that Aldhelm is following Arator and not Acts. We might note further evidence of direct borrowing, to supplement the parallels found by Manitius already noted; several previously unnoticed correspondences are included in Appendix 4.1 below. The accumulated evidence suggests that the influence of Arator upon Aldhelm's poetic diction was even more extensive than hitherto supposed.

Moreover, in addition to Christian narrative poets such as Juvenius, Cyprianus Gallus, Sedulius and Arator, Aldhelm steeped himself in the verse of other Christian poets, including such prominent figures as Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola and Venantius Fortunatus. From each Aldhelm can be shown to have derived certain aspects of his own idiosyncratic style and diction. Let us begin with Prudentius.

¹⁸⁸ *Opera*, p. 21.

Prudentius

Prudentius himself provides much of our current biographical knowledge, for he sketched out the facts of his life and writings in a verse preface to his works.¹⁸⁹ There the poet, writing in 405 aged fifty-seven, reviews his lifetime and literary works since his birth in the year 348. The date of his death is unknown, although several scholars have been drawn to Messenger's suggestion that 'he probably did not live to mourn the capture of Rome by the Visigoths in 410'.¹⁹⁰ That Prudentius is not mentioned by Jerome in his *De viris illustribus* of 392 has suggested to some that he turned to literature relatively late, although Wieland's assertion that Prudentius composed the 11,000 lines of his extant corpus in the last five years of his life is certainly false, being based on a misunderstanding of the Latin text of the preface.¹⁹¹ But the poetry of Prudentius was clearly valued soon after his death, and in the late fifth and sixth centuries Prudentius is praised by such diverse figures as Gennadius of Marseilles (the continuator of Jerome's work), Sidonius Apollinaris, Avitus and Venantius Fortunatus.¹⁹² His further popularity is attested by the more than 300 manuscripts extant, the earliest of which dates from the first half of the sixth century.¹⁹³ Rand has described the verse of Prudentius as 'the finest expression of Christian humanism that has appeared in poetry',¹⁹⁴ and the influence of a great number of Classical poets has been detected in his work, most notably

¹⁸⁹ For details of Prudentius's life and works, see Messenger, 'Aurelius Prudentius Clemens', pp. 81–102.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁹¹ G. Wieland, 'The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*', ASE 16 (1987), 213–31, at 213. Since the *Praefatio*, written in 405 already alludes to some five of the seven major Prudentian works only the two omitted, namely the *Psychomachia* and *Dittochaeon*, may perhaps be assigned to the end of Prudentius's life. Moreover on the same page Wieland notes that 'the exact date of [Prudentius's] death is unknown, but it appears to have been before 410 because his writings, especially the *Contra Symmachum*, still praise a victorious Rome that had not yet been sacked by Alaric', a specious argument since the *Contra Symmachum* is alluded to in the *Praefatio* of 405.

¹⁹² Cf. Messenger, 'Aurelius Prudentius Clemens', pp. 90 and 99.

¹⁹³ E. O. Winstedt, 'The Double Recension of the Poems of Prudentius', *Classical Review* 17 (1903), 203–7, at 204; on the transmission of Prudentius, see too Manitius, *Handschriften*, pp. 213–20.

¹⁹⁴ E. K. Rand, 'Prudentius and Christian Humanism', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 51 (1920), 71–83, at 83.

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Vergil, Horace, Seneca, Lucan and Ovid.¹⁹⁵ The range of his poetry is remarkably broad; Messenger characterizes his works as follows:

the *Liber Cathemerinon* [C], a collection of hymns for certain hours of the day and night; the *Apoteosis* [A], a refutation of heresies and a defense of the Divinity of Christ and of Trinitarian doctrine; the *Hamartigenia* [H], a treatment of the origin of sins, together with a refutation of the Marcionite heresy; the *Liber Peristephanon* [Pe], a collection of lengthy hymns in honor of the martyrs; *Contra Symmachum* [S], an attack on paganism and the heathen cults . . . the *Psychomachia* [Ps], an allegory of spiritual struggle, and the *Dittochaeon* [D], a series of brief descriptions of [forty-nine] biblical scenes from the Old and New Testaments.¹⁹⁶

These seven major works of Prudentius all seem to have enjoyed some considerable popularity throughout the medieval period, and particularly in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁹⁷ Alcuin mentions Prudentius as one of the poets whose works were known to him at York, and he features both in the list of books donated by Sæwold to the church of Saint-Vaast in Arras (c. 1070) and in the inventory of books donated by Bishop Leofric to the church of Exeter (1069 x 1072).¹⁹⁸ In the latter case the *Psychomachia*, *Peristephanon* and *Cathemerinon* are specified, contained in a single volume, which seems to have survived; all three are found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 6 (Exeter, s. xiⁱⁿ), which has an inscription *ex libris* of Leofric.¹⁹⁹ Gneuss lists a further twelve manuscripts containing poems by Prudentius written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England, and Wieland provides a useful analysis of the majority of these.²⁰⁰ The distribution of

¹⁹⁵ Messenger, 'Aurelius Prudentius Clemens', pp. 100–2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94. The order of the texts given accords with that in Prudentius's own *Praefatio*.

¹⁹⁷ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 571 and 619; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 230–2; Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, p. 4; and G. Wieland, 'Prudentius', in *Trial Version*, pp. 150–6.

¹⁹⁸ *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1552, where Prudentius is called *Clemens* for metrical reasons; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 60 and 66.

¹⁹⁹ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 232; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', p. 68.

²⁰⁰ Wieland, 'The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 215–17. The thirteen manuscripts in question, preceded by the number given in Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', and in roughly chronological order, are as follows: no. 661: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (NE France, s. ix², later owned at Bury St Edmunds); no. 70: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223 (Saint Bertin, s. ix/x); no. 191: Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 51 (s. x); no. 246: Durham, Cathedral Library, B. iv. 9 (s. x^{med}); no. 38: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23 (s. x^{ex}); no. 285: London, British Library, Add. 24199 (s. x^{ex}); no. 680: Oxford, Oriel College 3 (Christ Church,

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Table 7. *The distribution of Prudentian texts in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts*

MS	Text							Total
	C	A	H	Pe	S	Ps	D	
661						X		1
70	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
191						X		1
246	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
38				X	X*	X		3
285						X		1
680	X			X	X		X	4
324						X		1
190							X	1
805	X			X	X			3
852						X*		1
537	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
12			X*			X		2
Total	5	3	4	6	6	10	5	39

Prudentian texts throughout extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts can best be seen in Table 7, where manuscripts are listed by the number assigned by Gneuss in his preliminary list, and the order of the Prudentian texts is that outlined by Messenger above. I have omitted from Table 7 consideration of six further manuscripts containing all or part of the New Hymnal, used in the daily office from the tenth century on, which incorporated hymns drawn from *Cathemerinon* I, II and (in one manuscript) VI.²⁰¹ Each text found in any given manuscript is indicated by 'X'; incomplete texts are signalled by an asterisk.

Canterbury, s. x^{ex}); no. 324: London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C. viii (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi); no. 190: Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 31; no. 805: Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, 189 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi); no. 852: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 29031b (s. xiⁱⁿ); no. 537: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 36 (Exeter, s. xiⁱⁿ); Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}). In the case of no. 246, which contains the entire Prudentian corpus, it is interesting to note that these poems are preceded in the manuscript by a version of the *Vita Prudentii* from the *De viris illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseilles mentioned above (n. 192).

²⁰¹ Cf. Wieland, 'Prudentius', in *Trial Version*, pp. 151–2.

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The sheer number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing Prudentius's poems is in itself convincing testimony to the importance of his works, and moreover Wieland, in a more narrow study of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of *Psychomachia* in particular, concludes that: 'all attempts at finding coherent groups of the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* manuscripts have failed'.²⁰² Wieland postulates a large number of lost manuscripts, and points to extensive glossing in the extant manuscripts as evidence that the poem was widely and thoroughly studied in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁰³ Indeed most scholarly discussion this century has focused on the nature and extent of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of *Psychomachia*, including a number of examples of the alleged influence of *Psychomachia* upon vernacular Old English literature, to the exclusion of the rest of the Prudentian corpus.²⁰⁴ But whilst *Psychomachia* occurs in more Anglo-Saxon manuscripts than any other Prudentian text, with five manuscripts containing no other of Prudentius's works, Table 7 clearly demonstrates that this was not the only poem of interest. The complete corpus occurs in no fewer than three manuscripts, and whilst *Apotheosis* and *Hamartigenia* do not appear outside such collections the remaining five poems are found quite widely. Moreover there seems no discernible difference in the distribution of texts from the earliest manuscript (s. ix^{ex}) to the latest (s. xi^{med}).

It is therefore somewhat disappointing to consider the evidence hitherto available of first-hand acquaintance with the poems of Prudentius in Anglo-Latin poets. Manitius offers sixteen alleged parallels between Aldhelm and all seven of Prudentius's poems, although the majority of his suggested correspondences are extremely weak; I include all the better examples in my discussion below.²⁰⁵ A good case for Aldhelm's specific use of *Psychomachia* in the section at the end of the *Carmen de virginitate* (CdV 2446–760) which deals allegorically with a confrontation between the

²⁰² 'The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', p. 228.

²⁰³ See, for example, Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 4–5; and his 'The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 225–8 and 'Prudentius', in *Trial Version*, pp. 150–6.

²⁰⁴ On alleged influence of *Psychomachia* on Old English literature, see, for example, B. F. Huppé, *The Web of Words* (Albany, NY, 1970), pp. 141–2; M. D. Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry* (The Hague, 1972), p. 198; J. P. Hermann, 'Some Varieties of *Psychomachia* in Old English', *American Benedictine Review* 34 (1983), 74–86 and 188–222. See now John P. Hermann, *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989), esp. pp. 7–55.

²⁰⁵ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 571.

Vices and the Virtues has been made by Lapidge and Wieland.²⁰⁶ With regard to Bede, who quotes from *Psychomachia* three times in the course of his *De arte metrica*, Manitius finds only two examples of Bede's direct imitation of Prudentius's diction, both with respect to *Cathemerinon*, but Jaager supplements this with eight further parallels, offering some evidence, if often very thin, for each poem in the corpus.²⁰⁷ Similarly Peter Godman, in his edition of the *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, can find only seven parallels in total from *Apotheosis*, *Hamartigenia* and *Psychomachia*, and concludes that in this poem Alcuin's use of Prudentius is 'slight'.²⁰⁸ It will be clear from the preceding discussion that once again the chief evidence for imitation of the poetic diction of Prudentius in Anglo-Saxon England derives from Aldhelm. Traces of all of Prudentius's works are more numerous in Aldhelm's verse than has been hitherto supposed; we might consider here the following parallels (supplemented in Appendix 4.1), drawn from across the range of the Prudentian corpus:

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|---|--------------|
| [1] <i>Ferratasque acies</i> clangere classicum | C V.48 |
| M <i>Ferratas acies</i> et denso milite turmas | E XCVI.1 |
| [2] <i>Corde tenebroso</i> verum perpendere nescit | A 127 |
| <i>Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde</i> negantes | CE IV.vi.6 |
| [3] <i>Sanguine respersus commissa piacula</i> solvit | A 544 |
| M <i>Suscipe singultus commissa piacula</i> gementum | CE I.10 |
| <i>Et veniam dantes commissa piacula</i> solvant | CE IV.xiii.5 |
| [4] <i>Muneribus?</i> Scio quem videam, quae <i>dona rependam</i> | A 632 |
| <i>Sic deus indignis tua gratis dona rependis</i> | E P.9 |
| [5] <i>Auctorem lucis</i> largitoremque dierum | A 701 |
| <i>Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde</i> negantes | CE IV.viii.6 |
| [6] <i>Decidit in vitium per sordida foedera carnis</i> | A 910 |
| <i>Spiritus ac castae coniungant foedera carnis</i> | CdV 131 |
| <i>Spiritus et castae servavit foedera carnis</i> | CdV 653 |

²⁰⁶ *Poetic Works*, pp. 99–100; G. R. Wieland, 'Aldhelm's *De Octo Vitiis Principalibus* and Prudentius's *Psychomachia*', *MÆ* 55 (1986), 85–92.

²⁰⁷ Bede, *De arte metrica*, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, pp. 125 and 135; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 619; Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita S. Cuthberti*, pp. 59, 60, 79, 94, 102, 103, 112, 123 and 132.

²⁰⁸ Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxxvii and 151.

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| [7] | Solus Abessalon lacerans pia <i>viscera ferro</i>
Candida sed rigido violavit <i>viscera ferro</i> | H 580
CdV 1832 |
| [8] | Haec ille ante obitum membrorum <i>carcere saeptus</i>
Moenibus obstructas et muri <i>carcere saeptus</i> | H 919
CE IV.vii.24 |
| [9] | <i>Ossibus ornat</i> , amore colit
Denique post mortem sacratis <i>ossibus ornat</i> | Pe III.5
CdV 521 |
| [10] | Exsurge et <i>almis coetibus</i>
Praemia sumpturus cum caeli <i>coetibus almīs</i> | Pe V.287
CdV 2442 |
| [11] | Ignara insueto <i>subdere colla</i> iugo
Imperio patris contemnens <i>subdere colla</i> | Pe XI.90
E LXIII.5 |
| [12] | Prosternunt saepes et cuncta <i>obstacula rumpunt</i>
Tunc iterum nutu nimborum <i>obstacula rupit</i> | Pe XI.117
CdV 263 |
| [13] | <i>Conglobat in cuneum</i> Latios simul ac peregrinos
<i>Conglobat in cuneum</i> cum falsis tesibus ardens | Pe XI.191
CdV 2580 |
| [14] | Fronte sub adversa gradibus <i>sublime tribunal</i>
Et regnatoris stipant <i>sublime tribunal</i> | Pe XI.225
CdV 2882 |
| [15] | Hanc in <i>lupanar</i> <i>trudere</i> publicum
M <i>Truditur</i> ad tetrū scortorum casta <i>lupanar</i> | Pe XIV.25
CdV 1952 |
| [16] | <i>Castum lupanar</i> nec violabile
<i>Truditur</i> ad tetrū scortorum casta <i>lupanar</i>
Verum virginitas scortorum casta <i>lupanar</i> | Pe XIV.55
CdV 1952
CdV 2546 |
| [17] | Regalemque decus capitis <i>gestare coronam</i>
Virginibus dederit nitidas <i>gestare coronas</i> | S I.141
CdV 1662 |
| [18] | Gentibus instituens, magnus <i>qua tenditur orbis</i>
Devulgare solet, latus <i>qua tenditur orbis</i> | S I.456
CdV 2029 |
| [19] | <i>Splendentemque</i> die medio non <i>cernere solem</i>
Et redivivus item <i>splendentem cernere solem</i> | S I.577
CdV 1418 |
| [20] | Armorū dominos <i>vernantes flore</i> iuventae
Auxiliante deo <i>vernabant flore</i> perenni | S II.7
CdV P.34 |
| [21] | Ne natale solum, patrii ne <i>iugera ruris</i>
Glescere sulcati per squalida <i>iugera ruris</i>
Squalida deserti procurans <i>iugera ruris</i> | S II.155
CdV 113
CdV 1457 |

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| [22] | Compositam clamidem villosa corpore gestent
Sed digitos decies senos in corpore gesto | S II.301
E 90 2 |
| [23] | <i>Regnator mundi</i> Christo sociabere in aevum
<i>Regnator mundi</i> , regnans in sedibus altis | S II.758
CdV P.4 |
| [24] | Aura canes animatque levi fera corpora flatu
Spiritus alterno vegetat nec corpora flatu | S II.815
E LXXI.4 |
| [25] | Cernis ut una via est multis anfractibus errans
Quem pius abstrusus scaevis anfractibus error
Bacchantum ritu longis anfractibus errant | S II.896
CdV 848
CdV 1521 |
| [26] | Mens armata queat nostri de pectoris antro
L Quem Deus a nostri detrudat pectoris antro | Ps 6
CdV 2865 |
| [27] | Exoritur quotiens turbatis sensibus intus
Totis membrorum dum frauder sensibus intus | Ps 7
E LXXII.8 |
| [28] | Nec iam christicolae, furiarum maxima, temptes
I Vincere nec valeat furiarum maxima mentes | Ps 96
CdV 2634 |
| [29] | Et ferrugineo vernantes flore coronas
Auxiliante deo vernabant flore perenni | Ps 355
CdV P.34 |
| [30] | Dat tergum fugitivus Amor, lita tela veneno
M Arma cruenta ferens et spicula lita veneno | Ps 436
CdV 2575 |
| [31] | Scandala proculcat pedibus nec fronte severos
I Conculcat pedibus caeni fetentis adinstar | Ps 452
CdV 2547 |
| [32] | Virtutum regina fides, sed verba loquentis
Integritas quoque virtutum regina vocatur | Ps 716
CdV 185 |
| [33] | Conscendunt apicem mox et sublime tribunal
M Et regnatoris stipant sublime tribunal | Ps 736
CdV 2882 |

Whilst several of these correspondences are individually unconvincing the cumulative evidence is, I suggest, overwhelming. One might argue that the evidence for Aldhelm's knowledge of *Cathemerinon* in particular is the weakest, since the phrase *ferratas acies* of parallel [1] is also found in line 21 of Arator's dedicatory verse epistle *Ad Florianum* attached to his *De actibus apostolorum*, which Aldhelm certainly knew and used, although there the phrase occurs in a different metrical position within the line. But the

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evidence with regard to all six of the other remaining works seems secure enough, and certain of Aldhelm's own verses can almost be regarded as Prudentian pastiche. So a single verse in one of the *Carmina ecclesiastica* (CE IV.viii.6) seems to draw on two verses from *Apotheosis* (parallels [2] and [5]), and a further verse from the *Carmen de virginitate* (CdV 1952) appears to derive from two from *Peristephanon* (parallels [15] and [16]). One might conclude that Aldhelm had access to the sort of manuscript containing the complete works of Prudentius of which three examples survive from later Anglo-Saxon England.

Paulinus of Nola and Paulinus of Périgueux

Aldhelm does not quote Prudentius in the course of his metrical treatises, despite his obvious familiarity with the verse, and similarly Aldhelm's citation of but a single line from the *Natalicia* of Paulinus of Nola (DM 96.16) offers deceptively scant evidence of first-hand acquaintance.²⁰⁹ But Paulinus, the late fourth-century Gallic bishop of Nola in southern Italy, although best-known for his relationship with his master and mentor Ausonius, proved a popular and much-read poet throughout the early medieval period.²¹⁰ It is certain that Paulinus was read in Anglo-Saxon England.²¹¹ Alcuin notes that a copy of Paulinus was in the library at York in the late eighth century, whilst amongst the few extant Insular manuscripts two early Northumbrian codices of Paulinus's poetry survive: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 235 (s. vii/viii), and St Petersburg, National Public Library, Q. v. XIV. 1 (s. viii).²¹² Both manuscripts preserve a text of Paulinus's poems which Mackay has described as 'different from and textually inferior to the main tradition of

²⁰⁹ *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina*, ed. W. Hartel, CSEL 30 (Vienna, 1894).

²¹⁰ Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola: a Study of his Latinity*, pp. 11–20.

²¹¹ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 571; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 217; T. W. Mackay, 'Paulinus of Nola', in *Trial Version*, pp. 144–5; and Mackay, 'Bede's Hagiographical Method', pp. 77–9; Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxx–lxxi, lxxiv–lxxv, lxxxiv and 150; Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola', pp. 134–6; and Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola: a Postscript', pp. 394–6.

²¹² *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1552. On the manuscripts, see CLA I, no. 87; CLA XI, no. 1622; B. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Munich, 1974), pp. 78 and 108; Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 910 and 847; Brown, 'The Irish Element', pp. 111–12.

that poet.²¹³ Each manuscript contains a collection of five poems devoted to St Felix of Nola and part of a longer series of fourteen poems known collectively as the *Natalicia* (Hartel's *Carmina* XV, XVI, XVIII, XXVIII and XXVII respectively).²¹⁴ In each manuscript only one further poem by Paulinus has been added after the *Natalicia* poems (Hartel's *Carmen* XVII), and both manuscripts rather misleadingly indicate a compilation of six books on the subject of St Felix, each poem constituting a separate book.²¹⁵ Tom Mackay, following Peter Hunter Blair, plausibly suggests that the appearance of this restricted corpus of Paulinus's work in Insular sources is a further indication of the sort of Italian (and specifically Campanian) influence which is found in Insular script, charters, gospel texts and lists of saints in calendars, and which begins in the last third of the seventh century with the advent of Theodore and Hadrian.²¹⁶

It is, moreover, clear that Bede knew Paulinus's *Carmina* in exactly the form preserved by these two Insular manuscripts, since although he cites Paulinus no less than seventeen times in the course of his *De arte metrica*, he never quotes examples from outside this six-poem corpus, nor can he be shown to have known or used any other of Paulinus's *Carmina* elsewhere.²¹⁷ More significantly, when introducing a fourteen-line quotation from *Carmen* XVII, which (despite being included after the five poems of the *Natalicia* in the two Insular manuscripts noted) is neither about Felix nor indeed in the same metre (it is in sapphics, whilst the *Natalicia* are all in hexameters), Bede comments that: 'Hoc metro sanctus antistes beati Felicis confessoris librum composuit.'²¹⁸

Since Aldhelm was a scholar under Hadrian at Canterbury, and since, as Mackay notes, 'it seems to have been Hadrian who was responsible, if not for the truncated corpus of Paulinus, at least for its appearance in England', it is necessary to inquire whether Aldhelm's knowledge of Paulinus's *Carmina* is similarly restricted to these same six poems of the Insular

²¹³ 'Bede's Hagiographical Method', p. 77.

²¹⁴ Walsh, *The Poems of Paulinus of Nola*, pp. 6–13.

²¹⁵ The Vatican manuscript begins the collection with *incipiunt sex libri felicitatis sancti* (4r), the St Petersburg manuscript closes the compilation with *finiunt sex volumina sancti felicitatis* (22v).

²¹⁶ 'Bede's Hagiographical Method', p. 78; cf. P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (London, 1970), pp. 119–20 and 216–19.

²¹⁷ Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', p. 135.

²¹⁸ *De arte metrica* XVIII.4–6 (ed. Kendall, pp. 132–3).

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tradition.²¹⁹ In the course of two detailed articles Neil Wright has presented a number of previously unnoticed verbal echoes and thematic parallels which demonstrate beyond question Aldhelm's reliance on three of Paulinus's *Natalicia*, Hartel's *Carmina* XV, XVIII and XXVII.²²⁰ Wright's findings can be slightly supplemented; there is a further possible correspondence:

Parque salutiferis textit *victoria palmis* XXVII.434

Sed secus evenit sanctis *victoria palmae* CdV 1437

There is, moreover, some further evidence that Aldhelm knew and borrowed from another of the *Natalicia* poems, Hartel's *Carmen* XVI:

Munia maluerit *Christo servire* perenni XVI.20

Quod vellet iugiter *Christo servire* pudica CdV 1799

Parta tueretur, postquam *discrimina mortis* XVI.252

Sospes qui numquam sensit *discrimina mortis* CdV 269

Divitiis inopem *ditabit gratia Christi* XVI.283

Quem pius aethrali *ditavit gratia Christus* CE IV.viii.2

Evidence of Aldhelm borrowing from outside this Insular corpus of six poems is scant. The only correspondences between Aldhelm's poetic diction and any other of Paulinus's *Carmina* concern a single further poem, Hartel's *Carmen* XIX:

Omnipotens dominus finitum corporis aevum XIX.288

Omnipotens dominus, mundi formator et auctor CdV P.11

Creverat utilitas ad nostrae *munia vitae* XIX.344

Necnon aegrotis impendens *munia vitae* CdV 700

Concilians hominem medii per *foedera Christi* XIX.726

Membra catervarum servantum *foedera Christi* CdV 488

Whilst none of these correspondences can be said to be particularly convincing, it is intriguing to note that this poem, which comprises 730 verses on the miraculous recovery of an ornamental cross through the help of St Felix, is itself part of the original *Natalicia* series, although not witnessed in the extant Insular tradition.²²¹ One wonders whether

²¹⁹ 'Bede's Hagiographical Method', p. 77.

²²⁰ Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', pp. 137-48; and 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse: a Postscript', pp. 392-4.

²²¹ Walsh, *The Poems of Paulinus of Nola*, pp. 6 and 377.

Aldhelm is witness to a separate Southumbrian tradition of the *Natalicia* series. Further evidence that Aldhelm's acquaintance with the *Carmina* of Paulinus was restricted to the *Natalicia* series, and in particular those of the Insular tradition may be offered by his citation in the *De metris* of the first line of *Carmen* XV prefaced by the comment that it is Paulinus's first verse. Elsewhere in the *De metris* Aldhelm uses notably similar phraseology (*DM* 80.20, 85.12 and 85.15), always with respect to the first line of a complete corpus of verse by poets (Arator, Juvenius and Sedulius) with whose poems, as we have seen, Aldhelm can be shown to be well acquainted; the *Natalicia* of Paulinus of Nola were evidently similarly familiar.

Alongside the poems of Paulinus of Nola were occasionally transmitted verses now ascribed to his namesake, Paulinus of Périgueux,²²² whose *Vita S. Martini* enjoyed a certain vogue in the sixth and seventh centuries, according to Manitius; no less than five ninth-century manuscripts are extant.²²³ The work is based on a prose version of the *Vita S. Martini* by Sulpicius Severus, and provides a pedestrian paraphrase of about 3,500 verses. The influence of Vergil, Ovid, Juvenius and Sedulius in particular has been noted, together with some possible traces of, amongst others, Horace, Catullus, Lucan, Ausonius, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Claudian and Marius Victor.²²⁴

Evidence to date of knowledge of the work in Anglo-Saxon England is, however, slender.²²⁵ No Anglo-Saxon manuscripts survive, and the work is not found in extant booklists. I know of no good evidence of acquaintance in later Anglo-Latin poets, nor in Alcuin; all attempts to demonstrate knowledge relate to the earliest poetry of Aldhelm and Bede. Manitius detected only three parallels in Bede's verse to indicate first-hand knowledge, of which one can be discounted as commonplace, and another is too faint to be convincing.²²⁶ The third parallel, which Ogilvy discounts, is in fact far the strongest, and can be supplemented by a further

²²² The two namesakes were occasionally confused, most notably by Gregory of Tours; cf. Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum*', p. 229, n. 42.

²²³ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 579; *Handschriften*, pp. 272–3.

²²⁴ Schanz, Hosius and Krüger, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* IV.2, 378.

²²⁵ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 217–18.

²²⁶ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 621. The cadence *dona salutis* in Paulinus's *Vita S. Martini* II.322 and Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti* 371 (noted by Manitius) is scarcely specific; cf. Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* II, 141–3.

six parallels of varying quality alleged by Jaager.²²⁷ The combined evidence for Bede's use of the *Vita Martini* of Paulinus of Périgueux is, therefore, quite cogent. The case for Aldhelm's acquaintance seems still stronger. Manitius notes only four potential parallels, of which one can be immediately discounted, but just as Jaager supplemented Manitius's findings with regard to Bede, so it is possible to detect several other previously unnoticed correspondences.²²⁸ I note potential parallels from all six books of Paulinus's lengthy poem, of which the following examples, supplemented in Appendix 4.1, should serve to indicate Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with the work:

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|
| [1] | Tum saltim matrem <i>Christo donante</i> recepit
Caelitus instaurant <i>Christo donante</i> salutem | I.231
CdV 1089 |
| [2] | Ut <i>doctrina Dei</i> tali de fonte fluentes
Sic <i>doctrina Dei</i> fluxit de fonte quaterno | I.154
CE IV.x.13 |
| [3] | Quin et <i>contactus</i> tantum vel <i>fimbria</i> vestis
M Occulte Christum <i>tetigit</i> , quam <i>fimbria</i> pepli | II.650
CdV 1792 |
| [4] | Spirans extremum quamquam sine <i>vulnere virus</i>
Sed Paulus gelidum non sensit <i>vulnere virus</i> | III.370
CE IV.ii.27 |
| [5] | Pulvureamque ciet <i>curvato poplite</i> nubem
Ac genibus tundunt <i>curvato poplite</i> terram | IV.480
CE II.10 |
| [6] | Aequora camporum quateret <i>lasciva iuventus</i>
M Et, quodcumque mali gessit <i>lasciva iuventus</i> | IV.500
CdV 2823 |
| [7] | Virginitas nexu mentis, non <i>foedere carnis</i>
Spiritus ac castae coniungant <i>foedera carnis</i> | IV.645
CdV 131 |
| [8] | Quidam tam propriis <i>caecato corde</i> rebellans
Sed praestante Deo <i>caecatur corde</i> malignus | VI.269
CdV 2236 |

Whilst the parallels noted here are of a rather uneven quality, there are

²²⁷ Of Manitius's correspondence between Paulinus's *virtutum titulos* (*Vita S. Martini* II.154) and Bede's *virtutum titulis* (*Vita S. Cuthberti* 562), Ogilvy has presumably misconstrued the reference when he describes it as 'a parallel which I have been unable to find' (*Books Known to the English*, p. 217). For further parallels in Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti*, see Jaager, *Bedas Metrische Vita S. Cuthberti*, pp. 63, 91, 98, 103, 110 and 126.

²²⁸ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 579; the phrase *lacrimarum fonte* which Manitius notes in Paulinus's *Vita S. Martini* II.486 and Aldhelm's *CE* II.11 is also found in two further places in Paulinus's work, as well as in the poetry of Claudian and Corippus, as Schumann notes (*Hexameter-Lexikon* III, 152–3).

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several, for example correspondences [2] and [3], which seem particularly specific, and might alone suffice to demonstrate conscious imitation. There seems good evidence to suppose that Aldhelm had read the *Vita S. Martini* of Paulinus of Périgueux, and that he used that reading to good effect.

Prosper of Aquitaine

Similarly strong evidence links Aldhelm to Prosper of Aquitaine, who died soon after 455, and is chiefly celebrated as the author of over one hundred *Epigrammata*, concise renderings into elegiac verse of selected *sententiae* of St Augustine.²²⁹ Because of the simplicity of the renderings and their morality, the work quickly passed into school curricula, remaining a classroom text for some centuries.²³⁰ The *Epigrammata* were widely studied in late Anglo-Saxon England, as Lapidge has demonstrated, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey quotes one of Prosper's poems in the course of his historical miscellany.²³¹ Alcuin notes the presence of Prosper's work in the library at York, and his name occurs on two further booklists from the Anglo-Saxon period.²³² Five English manuscripts of the *Epigrammata* survive: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 448 (Winchester, s. x¹, x/xi); Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 31 (1135) (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi); London, British Library, Tiberius A. vii, fols. 165–6 (s. x), Harley 110 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x^{ex}).²³³ In the earlier period Bede cites the *Epigrammata* freely in the course of his *De arte metrica*, and Manilius and

²²⁹ Ptd PL 51, 497–531; on the transmission of Prosper, see *Handschriften*, pp. 247–51.

²³⁰ Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, pp. 31–6; and 'Die Rolle der Schulaufgaben', p. 623.

²³¹ Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', pp. 105–8; Lapidge also identifies the epigram cited by Byrhtferth (no. 104), embedded in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1885) II, 61, as well as demonstrating Byrhtferth's authorship of this section of the work in his 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey', pp. 100–18.

²³² *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, line 1552; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 46, 66 and (twice) 70–1.

²³³ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 12, 114, 190, 365 and 415 respectively. One might add the manuscript Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus M. 17. 14 (s. ixⁱⁿ), representing a copy of an eighth-century Northumbrian original containing both Prosper's *Epigrammata* and the *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius. See J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to 9th Century* (London, 1978), no. 65, and Godman, *Alcuin*, p. lxxviii.

Jaager note a number of possible borrowings in Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*.²³⁴

Aldhelm cites Prosper no less than fifteen times in the course of his metrical treatises, and four further times in his prose *De virginitate*.²³⁵ In all but two cases Prosper's name is cited or implied, together with the title of the work from which the quotation is taken. On the first occasion when he is mentioned Aldhelm gives the poet a fairly full introduction, describing Prosper as a 'poet and rhetor', and naming his book of verse as the *Epigrammata* (*DM* 79.18). In the light of the sheer number of quotations from his work, together with the careful way in which each citation is noted, and the circumstantial evidence of his popularity in Anglo-Saxon England already presented, one might assume that Prosper was well-known to Aldhelm. It is therefore curious to note that Manitius offers only two possible parallels throughout the whole corpus of Aldhelm's verse, and this poor total is scarcely increased by Ehwald.²³⁶ I note a number of potential correspondences, and cite in particular the following five previously unnoticed examples:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| [1] <i>Exueret deus ut tetra caligine mundum</i> | VIII.1 |
| <i>Exueret mundum ut furva caligine Christus</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1687 |
| [2] <i>Sed confirmare invalidam et frenare rebellem</i> | XVIII.3 |
| <i>Sed prudens praesul famulam frenare rebellem</i> | CII.5 |
| <i>Sed potius certat carnem frenare rebellem</i> | <i>CdV</i> 103 |
| [3] <i>Non pateant faciles saevis rumoribus aures</i> | XXI.3 |
| <i>Atque fatigantur sacris rumoribus aures</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1809 |
| <i>Fama praecipuis pulsans rumoribus aures</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2353 |
| [4] <i>Corda regens vires tribuens peccata remittens</i> | LVIII.7 |
| <i>Clementer veniam tribuens peccata remittat</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2825 |
| [5] <i>Corde patris genitum creat et regit omnia verbum</i> | CIV.5 |
| <i>Corde patris genitum; quod proles unica constat</i> | <i>CdV</i> 34 |

The validity of parallels [2] and [5] is strengthened by their context; Prosper's *Epigrammata* XVIII and CIV are entitled *De carnis cupiditate*

²³⁴ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 621.

²³⁵ *DM* 79.20, 79.22, 89.12, 93.5, 95.17 and 96.7; *DPR* 158.21, 162.11, 162.24, 168.11, 174.8, 175.12, 178.12, 189.25 and 197.23; *PdV* 318.19–20, 318.22–3, 319.14–21 and 319.24–7.

²³⁶ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 573–4.

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vincenda and *De confitendo uno Deo*, and share identical themes with Aldhelm's own verse at the appropriate point. One might add further evidence of Aldhelm's acquaintance with Prosper's lengthy and influential *Carmen de ingratis*, although there has been little indication hitherto that this work was known and read in Anglo-Saxon England.²³⁷ This evidence is, however, quite convincing; I offer three of the more striking parallels:

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| [1] <i>Infantesque etiam purgentur fonte lavacri</i> | 158 |
| <i>Flagitium sceleris purgantes fonte lavacri</i> | CE IV.viii. 11 |
| [2] <i>Libertate sua, quae Christi gratia confert</i> | 796 |
| <i>Virtutum donis, quas Christi gratia confert</i> | CdV 300 |
| [3] <i>Sed referat; pretioque bonos, non munere ditat</i> | 928 |
| <i>Hanc Deus ubertim caelesti munere ditat</i> | CdV 2026 |

There are no further correspondences to suggest that Aldhelm might have known any other of Prosper's verses, although the two poems *Poema coniugis ad uxorem* and *Carmen de providentia divina*, which are sometimes assigned to him, have other possible English connections.²³⁸

Dracontius and Corippus

Aldhelm's certain acquaintance with some of the less celebrated Christian Latin poets is further illustrated by his apparent familiarity with the verse of Dracontius, who wrote a number of works in the last decade of the fifth century, and survives as one of the finest African Latin poets.²³⁹ Of all his works the two Christian compositions, *Satisfactio* and *De laudibus Dei*, had the widest dissemination, and have the best claims to Anglo-Saxon influence.²⁴⁰ His secular poetry, including the tragedy *Orestes* and a

²³⁷ The *Carmen de ingratis* is ptd PL 51, 91–148; Godman (*Alcuin*, p. 151) offers one possible parallel between *Carmen de ingratis*, line 979, and the opening two verses of Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*.

²³⁸ The *Poema coniugis ad uxorem* is ptd PL 51, 611–16; the *Carmen de providentia divina* has been ed. M. Marcovitch, *Prosper of Aquitaine De Providentia Dei* (Leiden, 1989). The *Poema coniugis ad uxorem* is found in several of the English Prosper manuscripts noted above (Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 365 and 415). Godman (*Alcuin*, p. 151) has alleged two parallels between Alcuin's *Versus de . . . Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* and *Carmen de providentia divina*, though neither is particularly striking.

²³⁹ See the remarks of Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, p. 96; on the transmission of Dracontius's works, see Manitius, *Handschriften*, pp. 274–5.

²⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of both works see Moussy and Camus, *Dracontius Oeuvres*, pp. 18–29 and 40–98.

separate collection of ten further poems now preserved in a single manuscript and conveniently considered under the collective title of the *Romulea*, proved less popular.²⁴¹ Like that of many of the African poets, Dracontius's verse diction is highly derivative; traces have been detected of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal and Claudian amongst the pagan poets, and of Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Sedulius and Marius Victor amongst Christian authors.²⁴² So far as English sources are concerned, Manitius notes four slight verbal parallels to the *De laudibus Dei* in the poetry of Bede, and Ogilvy indicates another possible echo of the same poem in a letter to Lul written by Coena, archbishop of York.²⁴³ The single reminiscence of the *De laudibus Dei* detected by Peter Godman in Alcuin's poem on York, however, seems insecure, as is that of one of the *Romulea* noted in the same edition.²⁴⁴ We can be sure, however, that Alcuin was acquainted with Dracontius's verse; he was the author of a florilegium containing excerpts from Books II and III of the *De laudibus Dei*.²⁴⁵ The extracts from the *De laudibus Dei* in this florilegium were perhaps included to complement the recension of the first book of the poem by Eugenius of Toledo found in a further florilegium which has been attributed to Alcuin's colleague Theodulf of Orléans; at all events Carolingian knowledge of the work is assured.²⁴⁶ Of the *Satisfactio* also some English traces remain. Ogilvy notes that verse 53 of the poem is quoted in the course of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* and a very slight verbal parallel has been detected with the *Enigmata* of Eusebius.²⁴⁷ With respect to a Southumbrian tradition for Dracontius in early Anglo-Saxon England, Manitius has noted sixteen alleged parallels with the works of Dracontius in Aldhelm's verse, although this is certainly over-optimistic.²⁴⁸ Twelve of

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–40; J. M. Diaz de Bustamente, *Dracontio y sus Carmina Profana* (Santiago de Compostela, 1978), pp. 34–242.

²⁴² Moussy and Camus, *Dracontius Oeuvres*, pp. 56–66.

²⁴³ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 623; Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 133; Moussy and Camus, *Dracontius Oeuvres*, pp. 103–4. See now D. Nodes, 'Blossius Amilius Dracontius', in *Trial Version*, pp. 82–4, and cf. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey', p. 116.

²⁴⁴ *Alcuin*, p. 147.

²⁴⁵ This is the so-called 'Bamberg florilegium'. Cf. Constantinescu, 'Alcuin et les "Libelli Precum"', pp. 17–21; see too below, pp. 261–2.

²⁴⁶ Moussy and Camus, *Dracontius Oeuvres*, pp. 104–5.

²⁴⁷ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 133.

²⁴⁸ 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 579–80.

these parallels relate to Dracontius's *De laudibus Dei*, three to the *Satisfactio*, and only one to the secular collection of the *Romulea*. This distribution reflects the likelihood of Aldhelm's acquaintance with each of these works. Most of the parallels adduced by Manitius, however, can be dismissed as insufficiently specific to the texts in question; the remainder have been added to the further evidence of acquaintance produced below. Evidence of Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Romulea* of Dracontius is thin; I note only the following two parallels:

- | | |
|---|------------|
| [1] At volucer Veneris <i>volitans super aequora pennis</i> | VII. 154 |
| M Scando catervatim <i>volitans super ardua pennis</i> | E XXXVI. 2 |
| [2] Cur gentes cecidere simul, cur <i>sexus uterque</i> | VIII. 53 |
| Cum sit digestus sanctorum <i>sexus uterque</i> | CdV 2861 |

With regard to example [1] Aldhelm may have combined the Dracontian phrase *volitans super . . . pennis* with the Vergilian cadence *ardua pennis* (*Aeneid* XII.892), although this scarcely strengthens the case for Aldhelm's acquaintance with the *Romulea*; example [2] is hardly overwhelming. The question of Aldhelm's acquaintance with Dracontius's secular works must remain open.

Of Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Satisfactio*, however, there can be little doubt. Dracontius's poem is short (158 elegiac couplets), but nevertheless I note four parallels:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| [1] <i>Principio seu fine carens et temporis expers</i> | 5 |
| M <i>Principio vel calce carens et temporis expers</i> | CdV 2874 |
| [2] <i>Nil addit demitque tibi tam longa vetustas</i> | 9 |
| M <i>Cui dedit et dempsit nil mundi longa vetustas</i> | CdV 2875 |
| [3] <i>Nemo cadent sub iure tuo sub morte cruenta</i> | 131 |
| Fallentes pariter multavit <i>morte cruenta</i> | CdV 354 |
| [4] <i>Principis augusti simile est ad regna polorum</i> | 151 |
| M <i>Alta supernorum conquirens regna polorum</i> | GE III.31 |
| Summa supernorum conquirens <i>regna polorum</i> | CdV 755 |
| Aurea tum propere penetrarat <i>regna polorum</i> | CdV 2160 |

The first two correspondences, coming in consecutive lines of the *Carmen de virginitate*, are especially striking, and would alone suggest Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Satisfactio*.

With regard to Aldhelm's knowledge of the *De laudibus Dei* I note the following parallels:

The poetic art of Aldhelm

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|-----|--|--------------------|
| [1] | Hinc calidas pluit imber aquas et <i>roscida tellus</i> | I.65 |
| | <i>Roscida</i> me genuit gelido de viscere <i>tellus</i> | <i>E</i> XXXIII. 1 |
| [2] | Et <i>mare navigerum</i> quatitur <i>spumantibus</i> undis | I. 149 |
| M | Nec <i>mare navigerum</i> <i>spumoso</i> gurgite vallat | <i>CdV</i> P.31 |
| [3] | <i>Usibus humanis</i> data sunt haec cuncta venire | I.580 |
| M | <i>Usibus humanis</i> serviret rite per aevum | <i>CdV</i> 2691 |
| [4] | Et fuit in terris ut nec <i>caeleste tribunal</i> | II.102 |
| | Quando catervatim vallant <i>caeleste tribunal</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2349 |
| | Quique catervatim densis <i>caeleste tribunal</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2901 |
| [5] | Sollicitat glaucamque fretum <i>mucrone cruento</i> | II.295 |
| M | Sanguineas sumens praedas <i>mucrone cruento</i> | <i>E</i> XXXVI. 3 |
| | Quod castum lacerat corpus <i>mucrone cruento</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1749 |
| [6] | Fundatur de matre puer sub <i>sorte beata</i> | II.692 |
| | Sedibus et superis florebant <i>sorte beata</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2745 |

Correspondences [2], [3] and [4] are particularly striking; it seems certain that Aldhelm knew and used Dracontius's *De laudibus Dei* also.

It is more intriguing still to consider the case for Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with the poems of Corippus, which can never be said to have achieved great popularity, even for their contemporary audience, and the narrow manuscript tradition of which must tell against the possibility of widespread reception and imitation.²⁴⁹ His earliest work, the eight-book epic *Iohannid*, was written soon after 548 in praise of Justinian's general John Troglita, and was recited before the nobility of Carthage.²⁵⁰ The sole surviving manuscript of the *Iohannid* dates from fourteenth-century Italy, and another is noted in the eleventh century by Desiderius of Monte Cassino; according to Michael Lapidge 'the work may never have left Italy.'²⁵¹ A later poem, the *In laudem Iustini Minoris*, is a more overtly Christian work composed in Constantinople to celebrate the accession of Justin II on 14 November 565.²⁵² The transmission of the *In laudem Iustini* seems to emanate from Spanish sources: the full text is first found, together

²⁴⁹ On the transmission of Corippus's works, see *Handschriften*, pp. 335–6.

²⁵⁰ The *Iohannid* is in *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu De Bellis Libycis Libri VIII*, ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear (Cambridge, 1970).

²⁵¹ Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', in Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence', p. 289, n. 1.

²⁵² *In Laudem Iustini* is ed. Cameron.

with works by Dracontius and poems from the *Anthologia latina* in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10029 (s. x, in Visigothic script).²⁵³ There are few traceable borrowings from Corippus in any later poet, and none detected in either Bede or Alcuin; as Lapidge further notes 'it may seriously be doubted whether Corippus was ever read in Anglo-Saxon England'.²⁵⁴

There is, however, a reasonable body of evidence suggesting that Aldhelm, alone of Anglo-Latin authors, was acquainted with the works of Corippus.²⁵⁵ Manitius notes twenty-four alleged parallels, even more than for Venantius Fortunatus, an author whose many works Aldhelm doubtless knew in detail.²⁵⁶ But there are complications. Both the *In laudem Iustini* and the *Iohannid* are themselves highly derivative, leaning heavily on the works of earlier poets, and are packed with echoic resonances from all the popular school-text poets of the age.²⁵⁷ In short, Corippus's methods matched in some ways Aldhelm's own, and both borrow from a common stock. There are many examples in Aldhelm's work of cadences found in a number of poets, including Corippus; such parallels are clearly of little use in establishing the possibility of first-hand knowledge. Unfortunately, several of the parallels first noted by Manitius fall into this category, and must be dismissed; the more convincing remaining correspondences are included below, supplemented by some previously unnoticed parallels. Nevertheless, once such a sorting process is complete, a residual corpus of shared cadences unknown elsewhere supports the intriguing possibility of actual acquaintance. With regard to the *In laudem Iustini* the following correspondences have been observed:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| [1] In caelum properans securos <i>linqueret artus</i> | I.246 |
| M Et caput infandum funestos <i>liquerat artus</i> | CdV 1361 |
| [2] Lux aeterna Deus, rerum <i>formator et auctor</i> | II.12 |
| M Omnitens dominus, mundi <i>formator et auctor</i> | CdV P.11 |
| [3] Ludere coniferae <i>frondosa cacumina</i> silvae | II.322 |
| M Moxque genestarum <i>frondosa cacumina</i> scando | E XII.3 |

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20–4.

²⁵⁴ Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', p. 289.

²⁵⁵ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 123.

²⁵⁶ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 581.

²⁵⁷ Cameron, *In Laudem Iustini*, p. 8, notes that Corippus borrows from Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, Dracontius and Sedulius.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

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|-----|---|----------------------|
| [4] | Fusca dabant <i>fulvo</i> chrysatica vina <i>metallo</i>
Aurea dum <i>fulvis</i> flavescit bulla <i>metallis</i> | III. 100
E LV. 5 |
| [5] | In modico simulans convexi <i>climata caeli</i>
Lucifer idcirco deserto <i>climate caeli</i> | III. 197
CdV 2741 |
- The evidence is hardly conclusive, but the three remaining correspondences from Manitius's list seem especially intriguing. With respect to the *Iohannid*, the evidence is more extensive. The following correspondences are observed:
- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| [1] | <i>Tertia pars mundi</i> fumans perit Africa flammis
<i>Tertia pars mundi</i> mihi constat iure tenenda | I. 47
E XXIX. 7 |
| [2] | Non transibis, ait; sensit quod <i>mente malignus</i>
Guntarith en iterum perversa <i>mente malignus</i>
Sed cum tale nefas gestiret <i>mente malignus</i>
Sed quidam incentor bacchatur <i>mente maligna</i> | I. 252
IV. 222
CdV 1850
CdV 1555 |
| [3] | Candida sidereis gestans <i>velamina peplis</i>
M Serica purpureis praebens <i>velamina peplis</i> | I. 260
CdV 1146 |
| [4] | Ex ducibus namque unus eram, cum <i>sceptra tyrannus</i>
Daemonis ut regnum necnon et <i>sceptra tyranni</i> | I. 380
CdV 314 |
| [5] | Impia quae fuerit belli <i>nascentis origo</i>
M Fausta fuit primo mundi <i>nascentis origo</i>
Hinc nobis oritur mundi <i>nascentis origo</i> | III. 45
E LXXXVI. 1
CdV 744 |
| [6] | Montibus. Hunc <i>sequitur densis exercitus armis</i>
Septimus <i>insequitur densis exercitus armis</i> | III. 238
CdV 2678 |
| [7] | Colligitur, regisque sui <i>praecepta capessunt</i>
Pectore qui patulo Christi <i>praecepta capessunt</i> | IV. 303
CE IV. i. 6 |
| [8] | Syratica terrificus, saevo <i>crepitante tumultu</i>
M Tunc precibus turmae vasto <i>crepitante tumultu</i>
Sed procul abscedunt vasto <i>crepitante tumultu</i>
In tantum, ut cives vasto <i>crepitante tumultu</i> | VI. 564
CdV 1413
CdV 2243
CdV 2389 |
| [9] | Obtulerit domino <i>venerandus rite sacerdos</i>
M Fabricat altithrono <i>venerandus templa sacerdos</i> | VIII. 221
CdV 1311 |
- Such correspondences are tantalizingly bland. Number [5], for example, represents a shared melding of a number of commonplace Vergilian

cadences; I have included it here simply because of the rather strikingly close parallels between the way Aldhelm and Corippus have adapted these phrases. Yet the sheer number of correspondences is impressive, notwithstanding the fact that both poets were working the same bed-rock of sources. The evidence suggests that Aldhelm did indeed know the poetry of Corippus, although he owed him no great debt.

Venantius Fortunatus

In stark contrast with the works of Corippus, the poems of Venantius Fortunatus enjoyed a wide popularity throughout Europe from the time of his death right up to the twelfth century.²⁵⁸ The history of the reception of his verse has received much attention, most notably from Dümmler and Manitius.²⁵⁹ From Anglo-Saxon England, Gneuss notes four manuscripts, all from the later period.²⁶⁰ Hunt has examined the manuscript tradition with respect to late Anglo-Saxon England, and Michael Lapidge, in a postscript to Hunt's paper, has investigated the traces of knowledge of the poems of Venantius Fortunatus in the earlier period.²⁶¹

Lapidge adduces clear evidence that Aldhelm knew and borrowed from both the *Vita S. Martini* and the eleven-book collection of occasional verse which Fortunatus himself began to compile shortly before his death in

²⁵⁸ See particularly D. Tardi, *Fortunat. Étude sur le dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne* (Paris, 1927); on the manuscript tradition, see Manitius, *Handschriften*, pp. 330–1; W. Meyer, 'Über Handschriften der Gedichte Fortunats', *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Classe (1908), pp. 82–114. Cf. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, pp. 31–6; and 'Die Rolle der Schulautoren', p. 623.

²⁵⁹ E. Dümmler, ed., MGH, PLAC 2 (Berlin, 1884), 687–701; M. Manitius, 'Poetarum posteriorum expressi ad Fortunatum', *Fortunati Opera Pedestria*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, Auct. antiq. 4.2 (Berlin, 1884), 137–44.

²⁶⁰ The manuscripts in question are nos. 284, 120, 2 and 142 in Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List': London, British Library, Additional 24193 (s. ix/x); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 144/194 (s. ix/x); Badminton, Gloucestershire, Duke of Beaufort Muniments (?Canterbury, s. x^{ex}); Cambridge, Pembroke College 312, C. (s. x/xi). For further details, see Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence', pp. 279–84.

²⁶¹ Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence', pp. 284–7; Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', pp. 287–95. The account by Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 140 has been largely superseded by Lapidge.

about 600.²⁶² Further corroborative evidence for early Southumbrian knowledge of at least the occasional verse of Fortunatus is provided by a twenty-six line epigraph which William of Malmesbury includes in his *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae*.²⁶³ There is no reason to doubt that William had transcribed the verses from a church built at Glastonbury by Ine, king of the West Saxons (688–726) as he alleges; the poem is simply a conflation of two similar epigrams by Fortunatus. The evidence with respect to Northumbria, and to Bede and Alcuin in particular, is further revealing. Bede's familiarity with Fortunatus's *De virginitate* (*Carmina* VIII.iii) is beyond doubt; he cites from it some fifteen times in the course of his works, but his further knowledge of Fortunatus's work is something of an open question, since the evidence noted to date of direct borrowing in his own verse seems slight.²⁶⁴ Certainly Alcuin knew Fortunatus well, since he cites him by name. Peter Godman notes some thirty-two parallels with the *Vita S. Martini* in his edition of Alcuin's *Versus de . . . sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, and nearly fifty with the occasional poems.²⁶⁵ Lapidge speculates further on intriguing links between Alcuin and the continental manuscript tradition of Fortunatus's verse.²⁶⁶

With specific reference to Aldhelm, however, the weight of evidence of acquaintance is even more extensive than that indicated by Lapidge; Aldhelm's range of knowledge of Fortunatus appears both wide and comprehensive, a most fruitful source for plunder in the composition of Latin verse. As far as the *Vita S. Martini* is concerned, I note a great number of previously unnoticed correspondences; the following examples, supplemented in Appendix 4.1, will suffice to demonstrate the extent of Aldhelm's knowledge:

[1] Carne triumphali <i>victricia signa</i> reportans	I.2
M Rursus ad orandi <i>victricia signa</i> cucurrit	IV.238
Mox ibidem figens <i>victricia signa</i> salutis	CdV 852

²⁶² Lapidge, 'Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', p. 289. On the occasional poetry, see W. Meyer, 'Der Gelegensdichter Venantius Fortunatus', *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Classe*, 4.5 (Berlin, 1901).

²⁶³ Lapidge, 'Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', pp. 289–91.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 291–2.

²⁶⁵ Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxx–lxxii, lxxiv–lxxvi and 148.

²⁶⁶ Lapidge, 'Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', pp. 289–91.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

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|------|--|--|
| [2] | Comminus his <i>sanctum compellant vocibus</i> ultro
Tum <i>sanctum</i> placidis <i>compellant vocibus</i> ambae | I.305
<i>CdV</i> 719 |
| [3] | Axe serenato madidens sine <i>vellere nimbi</i>
Candidior nivibus, dum ningit <i>vellera nimbus</i> | II.26
<i>E C.</i> 54 |
| [4] | Rore atramenti restincta est <i>flamma camini</i>
Ac velut ex stipulis coqueret se <i>flamma camini</i>
O mirum dictus, pueros quod <i>flamma camini</i> | II.27
III.293
<i>CdV</i> 384 |
| [5] | Martini <i>digitis oleo</i> manante lucernae
Licia tunc <i>digitos oleo</i> madentia nectunt | II.42
<i>CdV</i> 1428 |
| [6] | <i>Serica purpureis</i> sternuntur vellera villis
M <i>Serica purpureis</i> praebens velamina peplis | II.88
<i>CdV</i> 1146 |
| [7] | <i>Coetibus angelicis</i> visus saepe atque locutus
M <i>Coetibus angelicis</i> sociabilis et patriarchis
<i>Coetibus angelicis</i> nimbose per aethera ductus | II.122
II.457
<i>CE</i> IV.ii.36 |
| [8] | <i>Angelicis vectus</i> manibus celer aethere calcans
<i>Angelicis vectus</i> caeli ad conversa catervis | II.323
<i>CdV</i> 709 |
| [9] | Obvia venandi studio volat <i>agmen equorum</i>
Terreo cornipedum nunc <i>agmen equorum</i> | III.328
<i>E</i> XCIX.5 |
| [10] | <i>Culmen apostolicum celsas</i> et honore columnas
<i>Culmen apostolici celsum</i> perdebat honoris | III.449
<i>CE</i> V.6 |
| [11] | Sic redit incluso tremula <i>sine voce susurro</i>
Dum magus in taurum pellax <i>sine voce susurrat</i> | IV.96
<i>CdV</i> 580 |
| [12] | Et reserare iubet tormenta <i>ergastula claustra</i>
Lurida passuras strictis <i>ergastula claustris</i> | IV.153
<i>CdV</i> 2208 |
| [13] | Laxaque disperso pereunt <i>simulacra metallo</i>
Quinquaginta simul stabant <i>simulacra metallis</i> | IV.246
<i>CdV</i> 1325 |
| [14] | Squamea terga movens, spiris vaga <i>caerula findens</i>
M Tonsis dum trudunt classes et <i>caerula findunt</i> | IV.275
<i>E</i> XCV.8 |

It is clear that Aldhelm was well acquainted with all four books of Venantius's work, and inserted echoes of it into his own verse. Evidence of familiarity with the much greater body of verse contained in the eleven-book collection of occasional verse is correspondingly extensive. The

The poetic art of Aldhelm

following parallels (again, supplemented in Appendix 4.1), the great majority of which have gone unnoticed before, will suffice to illustrate Aldhelm's acquaintance with Fortunatus's collection:

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|------|---|--------------|
| [1] | <i>Pontificalis apex</i> quamvis sit celsus in orbe | I.xv.33 |
| M | <i>Pontificatus apex</i> cum virginitatis honore | CdV 898 |
| [2] | <i>Iunctus apostolicis</i> plaudit honore choris | II.xiv.16 |
| | <i>Iunctus apostolicis</i> gratatur iure triumphis | CE V.13 |
| [3] | <i>Egregius doctor</i> veterum monumenta secutus | II.xv.13 |
| E | <i>Egregius doctor</i> verbi clustella resolvat | CdV 80 |
| [4] | Egregius doctor, <i>veterum monumenta</i> secutus | II.xv.13 |
| | Nam nobis rudibus <i>veterum monumenta</i> librorum | CdV 55 |
| | Scriptorum <i>veterum</i> liquido <i>monumenta</i> testantur | CdV 323 |
| | Limpida quos celebrant <i>veterum monumenta</i> librorum | CdV 392 |
| | Expurgans <i>veterum</i> clemens <i>monumenta</i> malorum | CdV 2886 |
| [5] | Deliciosus ager ridet <i>vernantibus arvis</i> | III.xiii.11 |
| | Pabula densa ferens vulgo <i>vernantibus arvis</i> | CdV 266 |
| [6] | Retia vestra, pater, oneroso <i>pisce redundant</i> | III.xiiid.1 |
| | Dudum limpha fui squamoso <i>pisce redundant</i> | E XIX.1 |
| [7] | Perveniunt quo <i>clausa</i> loco fera <i>turba latebat</i> | V.v.87 |
| | Dum foribus <i>clausis</i> , trepidans qua <i>turba latebat</i> | CE IV.vi.11 |
| [8] | <i>Cunctorum causas</i> intra tua pectora condis | VI.ia.25 |
| | <i>Cunctorum causam</i> contestans esse malorum | CdV 2585 |
| [9] | <i>Virgo dicata</i> Deo, hinc rapienda polo | VI.iv.8 |
| | <i>Virgo dicata</i> Deo florebat tempore prisco | CdV 1975 |
| [10] | <i>Pervigili sensu</i> dives prudentia regnat | VII.i.23 |
| | <i>Pervigili sensu</i> nosset ventura maligno | CdV 2529 |
| [11] | Si tibi magnanimus <i>rigida virtute</i> videris | VII.xxivg.1 |
| | Sed mihi non dabitur <i>rigida virtute</i> potestas | E XXIV.3 |
| | Non tamen in templo <i>rigida virtute</i> resultat | CdV 1347 |
| [12] | <i>Coetibus angelicis</i> hominum sociata propago | VIII.iii.5 |
| | <i>Coetibus angelicis</i> nimbose per aethera ductus | CE IV.ii.36 |
| [13] | Egregium Albanum <i>fecunda Britannia</i> profert | VIII.iii.155 |
| M | Quos gerit in gremio <i>fecunda Britannia</i> cives | CdV 878 |

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

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|------|---|------------|
| [14] | <i>Iungitur angelicis casta puella choris</i> | VIII.iv.4 |
| M | <i>Iungitur angelicis dum casta sponte maniplis</i> | CdV 186 |
| [15] | <i>Gaudia terreni conculcas noxia regni</i> | VIII.v.5 |
| | <i>Gaudia terrenae confertur gloria regni</i> | CdV 2894 |
| [16] | <i>Tempore vernali, dominus quo Tartara vicit</i> | VIII.vii.3 |
| | <i>Tempore vernali, dum promit germina tellus</i> | CdV 167 |
| [17] | O vox sancta loqui <i>defuncta cadavera</i> cogens | X.vi.59 |
| | Qui pie restituit <i>defuncta cadavera</i> vitae | X.xi.15 |
| | Surgere ter fecit <i>defuncta cadavera</i> leto | CdV 698 |

It is clear that there is extensive evidence for Aldhelm's knowledge of each of the eleven books of Fortunatus's collection; he does not focus on any single poem, as Bede (and to some extent Alcuin) does, and such signs certainly seem to indicate an easy familiarity. More interesting are the few correspondences linking Aldhelm with those of Fortunatus's poems outside the generally received canon. Lapidge notes one minor instance of Bede's possible knowledge of poems now comprising an editorial *Appendix* to Fortunatus's work;²⁶⁷ with respect to Aldhelm I would further note the following:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| Hoc quoque nulla tuis patefecit <i>littera chartis</i> | I. 101 |
| Quos nunc sacratis describit <i>littera chartis</i> | CdV 1627 |

In short, then, the evidence from Aldhelm's own poetry strongly suggests a high degree of familiarity with Fortunatus's verse. Whilst few of the noted correspondences are particularly striking, the sheer number of possible traces seems remarkably convincing. Fortunatus, though never mentioned by name, appears to have been one of Aldhelm's most-used and best-remembered sources, underlining strongly the fact that in the compilation of his metrical treatises Aldhelm did not fully reveal the remarkable extent of his reading in Latin verse.

ANONYMOUS POETS

Versus sibyllae

Alongside the works by named authors which can be shown to constitute so much of Aldhelm's remembered reading, there are several anonymous

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

poems which appear to have exerted on Aldhelm a particular fascination. On three occasions in the course of the *De metris* Aldhelm quotes from a short anonymous poem beginning 'Iudicio tellus sudabit maesta propinquo', now known as *Versus sibyllae de iudicio Dei* (DM 79.24, 93.22 and 93.33).²⁶⁸ Each time Aldhelm indicates that he is aware that he is citing Sibylline verses;²⁶⁹ no other medieval author quotes the work at all.²⁷⁰ The thirty-four verses of the poem translate an identical number of Greek hexameter verses from the Eighth Book of the *Oracula sibyllina* (lines 217–50), and have been plausibly associated by Bulst and Bischoff with the early Anglo-Saxon school at Canterbury.²⁷¹ It may be that Aldhelm was aware that he was citing a translation from a Greek original, since that would explain Aldhelm's otherwise curious and unique use here of the Greek form *poetris*; Proba, the only other female poet cited, is simply *inter poetas clarissima* (DPR 188.29). The Greek poem is an acrostic, reading ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ, and the rather loose Latin translation preserves the acrostic form, reading *IESUS CHRISTUS DEI FILIUS SALUATOR CRUX*. It has been suggested, given the links with the school at Canterbury where Aldhelm learned his metrical craft, that this poem may have served as Aldhelm's model in the composition of his own acrostic verses in the *Prefaces* to the *Enigmata* and *Carmen de virginitate*.²⁷² The poem provides in any case a useful indication of poetic activity at Canterbury to set beside Aldhelm's own.

The poem is preserved in a single manuscript, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I. 74 (?Orléans, s. ix^{2/4}), 24r–25r; the same manuscript also contains a text of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* on 1r–13r.²⁷³ Bulst tentatively suggested that Aldhelm himself might have been responsible for the translation, and whilst both Lapidge and Wright express caution, neither offers concrete evidence to reject the notion.²⁷⁴ Lapidge concludes that 'there is good reason . . . to suppose that the Latin Sybilline poem

²⁶⁸ The poem is ed. Bulst, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung', pp. 105–6; cf. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* I, 154–5. The poem is listed as no. 8497 in *ICL*.

²⁶⁹ So we find the introductory phrases *versibus Sibyllae poetridis* (DM 79.23); *Sibilla profetissa ait* (DM 93.21); *Sibillinus versus* (DM 93.32)

²⁷⁰ *Poetic Works*, p. 224, n. 15.

²⁷¹ Bulst, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung', pp. 109–11; Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* I, 154–5.

²⁷² *Poetic Works*, p. 16, but see further above, pp. 165–6.

²⁷³ Bulst, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung', p. 105.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109; *Poetic Works*, pp. 16 and 265, n. 8.

originated in the school of Theodore and Hadrian; but whether it is the work of Aldhelm requires further investigation'.²⁷⁵

Part of the problem in characterizing the poem lies in the rather garbled nature of the text. Bulst proposes fifteen emendations in the course of thirty-four lines, and is still forced to present a far from perfect text; Aldhelm's text will have been superior, and in fact one of the verses cited by Aldhelm is clearly preferable to the version given in the manuscript.²⁷⁶ Even accepting the proposed emendations, however, the metrics of the poem are execrable, and far beneath the standard of anything Aldhelm left. Bulst makes the plaintive comment that: 'In der Prosodie der Verse sind sämtliche ultimae als anceps behandelt; muta cum liquida kann Positionslänge bewirken.'²⁷⁷ This last point concerning the effect of following mute and liquid combinations on previous vowels is surely significant; just such a feature characterizes Aldhelm's own verse.²⁷⁸ Further intriguing parallels with Aldhelm's metrical technique concern the lack of elision; I count only one elision in the thirty-four verses (line 28), and it is perhaps significant that this very line is cited by Aldhelm as an example of *synaloepha* (DM 79.24). As if to underline the poet's distaste for elision, there are perhaps two examples of hiatus.²⁷⁹ Other features of the poem, however, contrast sharply with those found in Aldhelm's verse. In particular the anonymous poet of these Sybilline verses employs the feminine B2 caesura in three lines (lines 10, 16 and 30), whilst it occurs in only about 2.5% of Aldhelm's verses. Moreover, even allowing for the curious prosody, the metrics of the anonymous verses are quite different from those found in Aldhelm's verse. The single spondaic verse found in the manuscript (line 12) can be emended with some confidence, since this very line is cited without a spondee in the fifth foot in Aldhelm's *De metris* (DM 93.33), and when the whole poem is scanned we find the following:

Pattern	No.	Lines
DSSS	8	1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 18, 22 and 33
DDSD	5	7, 11, 14, 17 and 23

²⁷⁵ *Poetic Works*, p. 16.

²⁷⁶ Bulst accepts the emendation of the manuscript reading *ardens igni* (line 12) to *ardeat igni*, sanctioned by the citation in Aldhelm's *De metris* (DM 93.33).

²⁷⁷ Bulst, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung', p. 105.

²⁷⁸ See line 9; I have noted forty-three comparable examples of the lengthening of short final vowels before mute and liquid combinations above, p. 76.

²⁷⁹ See lines 8 and 17; on hiatus in Aldhelm's verse, see above, pp. 83–4.

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DSSD	4	5, 13, 24 and 29
DDSS	3	2, 26 and 31
DSDS	3	9, 16 and 30
DSDD	2	12 and 19
DDDS	2	15 and 21
SSDS	2	27 and 28
SDDD	1	10
SDSD	1	20
SDDS	1	25
SDSS	1	32
SSSD	1	34

Comparison with Aldhelm's usual metrical practice makes further disparities between his technique and that of the anonymous author of these verses clear. Here we see a much greater variety of metrical patterns used than would be expected in the same number of Aldhelm's verses, and a much greater reliance on dactylic patterns. A wholly different distribution of possible patterns is found: in Aldhelm the pattern SSSS is found in 530 verses, or just over one line in eight, whilst it is entirely absent here; by contrast the pattern DDSD, which occurs in less than 2% of Aldhelm's lines, is found five times in this poem. Again, whilst medial verbal forms do feature in the *Versus sibyllae*, they are far less frequent than in Aldhelm's own verse.

The choice of vocabulary again suggests that Aldhelm is not the author of these verses; I count no less than nineteen words in the *Versus sibyllae* which are never found at all in Aldhelm's verse corpus.²⁸⁰ Further disparities between the poetic technique of the anonymous poet of the *Versus sibyllae* and Aldhelm lie in the use of sources. I detect only one clear borrowing, from Vergil's *Aeneid*, whilst there remains the faint possibility of influence from a number of less likely sources; neither the number nor the adaption of sources can compare with Aldhelm's normal practice.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ The words in question are *decus*, *dinunero*, *gaia*, *gena*, *interimo*, *mugo*, *paene*, *permixtus*, *preparo*, *sido*, *spumens*, *stagnio*, *stridor*, *subvebo*, *sudo*, *transcurro*, *velivolus*, *virgula* and *vivifico*. Furthermore the word *bonus* occurs three times in the *Versus Sibyllae* (lines 5, 12 and 30) but is found only once in Aldhelm's four thousand extant hexameters (*CdV* 1784).

²⁸¹ The phrase *terra debiscens* (line 25) is clearly modelled on the same cadence in Vergil (*Aeneid* VIII.243); less clear-cut potential borrowings include *semine tellus* (line 7; cf. Orientius, *Commonitorium* I.127); *corpora format* (line 11; cf. *corpora formam* Paulinus of

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

But if prosody, metre, vocabulary and sources all indicate that Aldhelm is not the author of the *Versus sibyllae*, there is more evidence to confirm that he was acquainted with the poem at first-hand than has been presented hitherto. I note the following parallels:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| [1] Et veniente deo rursus <i>qui</i> corpora <i>cuncta</i>
Arce poli, genitor, servas <i>qui</i> saecula <i>cuncta</i> | 2
E P.35 |
| [2] Sponte sua pendent <i>pollutae</i> <i>piacula</i> vitae
Atque crucifixus <i>polluta</i> <i>piacula</i> tersit | 13
CE II.31 |
| [3] Spiritus <i>aere cavo</i> mugebit ab aethere cornu
Quamvis <i>aere cavo</i> salpictae classica clangant | 23
E XIII.1 |
| [4] Letalesque domos preparabit terra <i>debiscens</i>
Praemia sumpturum, cum tellus sponte <i>debiscet</i>
De gremio tumuli, cum tellus sponte <i>debiscit</i> | 25
CE IV.vi.24
CdV 1248 |
| [5] Tunc ille <i>aeterni species pulcherrima regni</i>
Intus, qua <i>species</i> flagrat <i>pulcherrima</i> Christi
Ivit ad <i>aeterni</i> castus consortia <i>regni</i>
Ferret ad <i>aeterni</i> ductor vestigia <i>regni</i> | 28
E LV.7
CdV 795
CdV 847 |
| [6] Restituens <i>seu</i> digna bonis <i>seu</i> iusta <i>profanis</i>
U <i>Seu</i> pia perfectis <i>seu</i> certe saeva <i>profanis</i> | 30
CdV 282 |

Several of these proposed correspondences require further discussion; parallel [6] was first noted by Bulst in his edition, and is cited by Lapidge as supportive evidence of an Aldhelmian connection.²⁸² Parallel [5] is based on a verse actually cited by Aldhelm (DM 79.24). Parallel [1] is given here since although the verbal correspondence is not great, both verses have a similar structure, occur in acrostics, and share similarities of context.²⁸³ It is more interesting to note that parallel [2] would be still closer were the line from the *Versus sibyllae* slightly emended, and indeed I should propose

Nola, *Carmina* XV.18); *fontibus amnis* (line 22; cf. *fontibus amnes* Claudian, *Carmina* XX.259; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* 1.607).

²⁸² *Poetic Works*, pp. 16 and 225, n. 20.

²⁸³ Lines 2–3 of the *Versus sibyllae* read *qui corpora cuncta/ Saecula*. In Aldhelm's verse the word *cuncta* is comparatively rare at the end of the line (only three examples out of twelve occurrences of the form), and this might suggest that Aldhelm is borrowing here.

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just this emendation; Bulst's version simply will not scan.²⁸⁴ A much closer parallel than that given in [4] would be the Vergilian cadence *terra debiscens* (*Aeneid* VIII.243) discussed above, but contextual evidence might indicate that Aldhelm is imitating the anonymous Christian poet rather than the pagan in these lines. In either case Aldhelm is clearly altering his source according to the idiosyncrasies of his particular idiolect; throughout his metrical verse the nominative form *terra* occurs only once (*CdV* 1564), *tellus* eighteen times. One might note further the disproportionate number of parallels which occur in the course of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* ([1], [3] and [6] above), since we have already found that the *Versus sibyllae* share closest metrical affinities with these poems, themselves embedded in the metrical treatises where Sibylline verses are cited. That Aldhelm imitated the *Versus sibyllae* in what seem to have been his earliest verses using metrical licences he later outgrew may well add weight to the notion that this rather unpoetic acrostic translation from Greek did indeed originate in the Canterbury school where Aldhelm first learnt the technique of hexameter verse composition.

Carmen ad Flavium Felicem

A further anonymous work, now known as the *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum et de iudicio Domini*, which seems to have originated in North Africa and to have been composed during the reign of Thrasamund (496–523), appears to have been likewise influential on Aldhelm's verse.²⁸⁵ The diction of the poem is highly derivative, and the poet draws on knowledge of Vergil, Dracontius, Paulinus of Nola, Claudius Marius Victor, Avitus, Sedulius and Commodian, a feature which again makes the detection of convincing parallels rather difficult.²⁸⁶ The work is short (406 lines in Waszink's edition), and has been preserved in no less than seven manuscripts.²⁸⁷ Of more immediate relevance to the present discussion is an eighth acephalous so-called 'Aldhelmian' version of part of the poem

²⁸⁴ For similar reasons I should emend line 3, which Bulst reads *Saecula dissolvens confusa, lege probabit*; I prefer *confusa lege* for reasons of prosody, and moreover would compare *concessa lege* in the same metrical position in Aldhelm's verse (*CdV* 88 and 1722).

²⁸⁵ See Waszink, *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem*, pp. 33–6.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–8.

²⁸⁷ For a detailed description of all seven manuscripts, see Waszink, *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem*, pp. 10–16.

(lines 108–290) found on 73r–74v of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8318 (s. x), and immediately followed by a text of several of Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica*.²⁸⁸ Giles was misled by a seventeenth-century inscription reading 'Aldhelmus' found on 73r, and erroneously prints *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* amongst Aldhelm's genuine works.²⁸⁹ Nonetheless the very existence of such a multiplicity of manuscripts indicates for the poem a certain vogue throughout the medieval period.

The work was certainly read in Anglo-Saxon England. Patrick Sims-Williams has found several parallels in a seventh- or eighth-century Anglo-Latin letter by one Burginda, and points out the insertion of a whole line of *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* in one of the *Enigmata* of Boniface.²⁹⁰ Waszink found a single correspondence with *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* in the *De die iudicii* of Bede, and whilst Sims-Williams rejects this as a commonplace, I have found a number of further possible parallels to suggest that Bede had indeed read the work.²⁹¹ But the strongest evidence of Anglo-Latin borrowing from *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* relates to Aldhelm, who seems to have imitated this short poem often. One might note the following parallels:

²⁸⁸ Waszink, *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem*, pp. 15–16; *Opera*, pp. 9–10. See too Sims-Williams, 'An Anglo-Latin Letter in Boulogne-sur-Mer', p. 14; and *Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800*, pp. 217–18.

²⁸⁹ Giles, *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 130–4.

²⁹⁰ 'An Anglo-Latin Letter in Boulogne-sur-Mer', pp. 12–14.

²⁹¹ Waszink, *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem*, p. 172; Sims-Williams, 'An Anglo-Latin Letter in Boulogne-sur-Mer', p. 21, n. 107. I recognize the following parallels:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| [1] <i>Angelica</i> late descendunt <i>agmina</i> terris | CaFF 143 |
| <i>Angelica</i> advenient caelestibus <i>agmina</i> turmis | DDI 65 |
| [2] <i>Nox</i> ibi <i>nulla</i> , sua defendunt astra tenebras | CaFF 245 |
| Z <i>Nox</i> ubi <i>nulla</i> rapit splendorem lucis amoenae | DDI 128 |
| [3] <i>Ire</i> sub ardore <i>semper sine fine</i> gehennae | CaFF 301 |
| Protegar et faciat <i>semper sine fine</i> beatum | DDI 157 |
| [4] <i>Altus</i> ardor eos igni <i>torquebit amaro</i> | CaFF 353 |
| Z <i>Fluvius</i> ignivomus miseros <i>torquebit amare</i> | DDI 82 |
| <i>Insuper</i> et pectus curis <i>torquetur amaris</i> | DDI 106 |

Moreover, with regard to parallel [2], the closer reading *Nox ubi nulla* is found in the 'Aldhelmian' version of CaFF printed by Giles, p. 133. Correspondence [4] may feasibly derive from a common source, since the phrase *torquebit amaro* is found in Cyprianus Gallus (*Exodus* 554), and *torquebat amaro* in Prosper of Aquitaine (*Epigrammata* LXVIII. 1). Bede quotes from both Prosper and Cyprianus in his *De arte metrica*, but there are no other possible parallels for either known to me in his DDI.

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[1]	Qui mihi <i>ruRICOLAS</i> optavi carmine <i>MUSAS</i>	1
Z	Non rogo <i>ruRICOLAS</i> versus et commata <i>MUSAS</i>	<i>CdV</i> 23
[2]	Protinus <i>aeTherIAS</i> modulabor luminis <i>ORAS</i>	8
	Donec in <i>aeTherEAS</i> flamma prorumperet <i>ORAS</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1426
[3]	Unde bonis <i>ROSEIS</i> odorque ruborque <i>CORONIS</i>	20
	Martira cum <i>ROSEIS</i> rubuit veneranda <i>CORONIS</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1877
[4]	Qui lucem maria <i>CAELUM</i> terramque paravit	28
	Versicolor fugiens <i>CAELUM</i> terramque relinquo	<i>E</i> III. 1
[5]	Idcircoque Deus solus cui <i>SUMMA</i> potestas	83
	Sic mihi dignetur sanctorum <i>SUMMA</i> potestas	<i>CdV</i> 2827
[6]	Ac <i>PROPRIAS</i> repetent diversis partibus <i>ORAS</i>	92
	Dum <i>PROPRIAS</i> spernunt spumosis fluctibus <i>ORAS</i>	<i>CdV</i> 816
[7]	Donec iterum mortis <i>RESURGANT</i> corpora membris	96
	Omnia de nigris <i>RESURGENT</i> corpora bustis	<i>CdV</i> 278
[8]	Si potuit <i>TENEBRIS</i> claram excludere <i>LUCEM</i>	105
W	Post <i>TENEBRAS</i> claram coepisti cernere <i>LUCEM</i>	<i>CE</i> I. 15
[9]	Quis melior specie vel plus <i>PRAECELLAT</i> honore	208
	Nascitur et proprio matrem <i>PRAECELLIT</i> honore	<i>CdV</i> 171
[10]	Et nemora alta tenens <i>FLORENTI</i> vertice caelum	219
Z	Hortus conclusus <i>FLORENTI</i> vertice vernans	<i>CE</i> II. 20
	Fructiferas itidem <i>FLORENTI</i> vertice quercus	<i>E</i> LXXXIV. 8
	Hortus conclusus <i>FLORENTI</i> vertice vernans	<i>CdV</i> 1698
[11]	Haec adeo sancti quotiens <i>CECINERE</i> prophetae	356
	De quo iam dudum <i>CECINERUNT</i> verba <i>PROPHETAE</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1690
[12]	Atque aeterna suis veniet ad <i>PRÆMIA</i> votis	406
	Aurea virgineo lucrantem <i>PRÆMIA</i> voto	<i>CdV</i> 2027

It should be noted with respect to correspondence [2] that a less close parallel for the phrase *aetherias . . . oras* can be found in Sedulius (*Carmen paschale* V.425), and that a further three parallels have been ignored as insufficiently specific. The number of remaining parallels strongly suggests that the *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* proved a useful source for Aldhelm.

Epigraphical verse

Amongst the numerous verses quoted in the course of the *De pedum regulis* Aldhelm includes the following verse, which he introduces with the simple comment *ut poeta* (DPR 153.31): 'Virgo Maria, tibi Sixtus nova templa dicavi.' This verse has been identified as the opening of an eight-line dedicatory poem marking the reconstruction in Rome by Pope Sixtus III (432–40) of the Liberian basilica as St Mary Major (now S. Maria Maggiore), of which inscription the first few letters were still extant at the end of the sixteenth century.²⁹² The line is often cited as evidence of the influence of epigraphical verse on Aldhelm, and a connection is generally made with a collection of such inscriptions believed to date from the mid-seventh century, the so-called *Sylloge Turonensis* (ST), which ends with the poem in question.²⁹³

But despite claims to the contrary, this inscription is not unique to the *Sylloge Turonensis*, being found with only slight variation in no less than three further collections, two of which are early compilations.²⁹⁴ One of these, the so-called *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* (SLQ), is preserved alongside three other collections in a single ninth-century manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 833, and has been similarly derived from a compilation dated to the middle of the seventh century.²⁹⁵ A shared prototype for *Sylloge Turonensis* and *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* has been suggested, although the latter contains a much greater number of poems (de Rossi notes forty-two items in *Sylloge Turonensis*, 104 in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*).²⁹⁶

However, whilst the notion of some Aldhelmian connection with *Sylloge Turonensis* has been accepted by several scholars and *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* has been linked with the collection of Latin epigrams compiled from a number of sources by Milred, bishop of Worcester (743 x 745 to 774 x 775), there has been no attempt to connect Aldhelm with *Sylloge*

²⁹² ICUR II, 60.

²⁹³ See, for example, *Poetic Works*, p. 36; ST is ed. de Rossi, ICUR II, pp. 58–71 (no. VI). The verse in question is found in VI.xlii.

²⁹⁴ ICUR II, VIII.6, p. 98; XII.28, p. 139; LXVI.110, p. 439. The first two of these are early collections. See too Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 32. All differ, however, from ST (and Aldhelm) in reading *tecta* for *templa* in this opening line.

²⁹⁵ SLQ is ed. de Rossi, ICUR II, pp. 95–118 (no. VIII); on dating see p. 97.

²⁹⁶ ICUR, ns I, pp. xxv–xxviii.

Laureshamensis quarta.²⁹⁷ Yet there are a number of cogent reasons to make such a connection. In the *De metris* Aldhelm quotes a further illustrative verse, which he attributes to one 'Andreas Orator' (*DM* 80.25). Ehwald rightly identifies the verse in question with a line from a poem on the Virgin Mary reprinted by Riese, working partly from an earlier edition by Barth.²⁹⁸ The latter apparently produced his edition from a manuscript now lost, since it differs in detail from the two manuscript versions now extant, the earliest of which is contained in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*, although without ascription there to Andreas Orator. The poem is not found in *Sylloge Turonensis*. De Rossi believes the whole poem on Mary to be a dedicatory inscription, which he dates to Rome *c.* 523 x 536.²⁹⁹ The occurrence in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* of two rare verses cited by Aldhelm in the course of his metrical treatises is in itself pressing evidence for some sort of connection; still further evidence of such a link is provided by a detailed survey of Aldhelm's apparent knowledge of certain of the poems of Damasus.

The titular *Epigrammata* of Pope Damasus I (366–84) have a special relevance to Aldhelm, for a letter addressed to Eustochius in 384 by Jerome states that, in addition to these dedicatory verses, Damasus had written a treatise on virginity in both prose and verse (*versu prosaque composita*).³⁰⁰ This work is no longer extant, but may well have served as a model for Aldhelm's own *opus geminatum* (the prose and verse versions of the *De virginitate*), particularly given the plentiful evidence, first noted by Weymann, that Aldhelm borrowed freely from Damasus's *Epigrammata*.³⁰¹ These are *tituli* or dedicatory inscriptions rather in the manner of Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica*, and whilst a number of them are now preserved in various

²⁹⁷ *Poetic Works*, p. 36; Wallach, 'The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge of Latin Inscriptions', pp. 148 and 151; Schaller, 'Bemerkungen zur Inschriften-Sylloge von Urbana', p. 11. Sims-Williams, however, rejects the notion that epigrams from Milred's collection derive from *SLQ*, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 28–9; he similarly disposes of the notion that *ST* was one of Milred's sources in his 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 32–3. On Milred's links with other Anglo-Latin poetry, see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 328–59.

²⁹⁸ *AL*, no. 494c (766), line 10; cf. C. Barth, *Adversariorum Commentariorum Libri Sexaginta Antiquitatis tam Gentilis quam Christianae Illustratae* (Frankfurt, 1624), LVI.xvi.2663.

²⁹⁹ *ICUR* II, 109.

³⁰⁰ Jerome, *Ep* xxii.22. See Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, pp. 7–8 and 62.

³⁰¹ C. Weyman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlichen lateinischen Poesie* (Munich, 1926), pp. 54–6; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, pp. 83–7.

manuscript collections, many survive solely in the form of occasionally fragmentary lapidary inscriptions. Ogilvy's few notes on knowledge of Damasus in Anglo-Saxon England only concern late acquaintance with others of his compositions.³⁰² With regard to Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Epigrammata*, one might note more than a dozen correspondences detailed in Appendix 4.1 below. Such correspondences offer evidence of various quality for Aldhelm's conscious imitation of perhaps seven of the *Epigrammata* (I, II, III, XVI, XVII, XXXV and XLVII in Ferrua's edition). This evidence can be supported further by a number of circumstantial details. Clearly Aldhelm knew and imitated Damasus's *Versus in Beatum Paulum Apostolum* (no. I in Ferrua's edition) most of all. The poem is found in a number of early epigraphical collections, as well as on 81r–v of an eighth-century manuscript 'written probably in a Kentish centre', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, immediately following the poems of Sedulius.³⁰³ Of still further relevance to the arguments put forward above of Aldhelm's connection with *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* is the fact that of the other six poems which share parallels of diction with Aldhelm's own verse, no fewer than three (XVI, XVII and XLVII in Ferrua's edition) are found in this collection; only one of these (XVI) is also found in *Sylloge Turonensis*.³⁰⁴

Two further epigraphical poems with Anglo-Saxon links should be mentioned at this point, namely the epitaphs of Gregory the Great and Cædwalla preserved by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (HE II.1 and V.7), both of which are assumed to derive from collections arising out of Anglo-Saxon pilgrim activity.³⁰⁵ Both poems are also found in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*, Cædwalla's epitaph alone in *Sylloge Turonensis*.³⁰⁶ But whilst only *Sylloge Turonensis* preserves the original dating material for this latter epitaph, also included by Bede, *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* has

³⁰² *Books Known to the English*, pp. 128–9.

³⁰³ *CLA* II, no. 123; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', p. 34; M. B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE* 5 (1976), 149–71, at 151.

³⁰⁴ *ICUR* II, VI.23, p. 66; VIII.43, p. 105; VIII.60, p. 108; VIII.41, p. 104.

³⁰⁵ See *VBOH* II, 72 and 281.

³⁰⁶ *ICUR* II, VI.40, p. 70; VIII.72, pp. 111–12; VIII.73, p. 112.

a significantly closer variant reading in one line.³⁰⁷ It has been suggested that both these items in *Sylloge Turonensis* with a particular interest for Anglo-Saxon scholars are additions to a pre-existing collection, but according to Silvagni 'Prototypam hanc syllogam, cuius apographum optimum exhibet Turonensis [ST] ac amplissimum Laureshamensis IV [SLQ], cum nulla inscriptio extet quae Honorii I pontificatum [625–38] excedat, ad medium saeculum VII referendam, ac docto cuidam monacho Anglo-Saxonico tribuendum esse e nonnullis indiciis, quae in mea dissertatione significavi, conici potest.'³⁰⁸ Since two of these extra items re-emerge in a later Anglo-Saxon context, it might perhaps be argued that the whole prototypical collection was an English compilation, with the *terminus post quem* marked by the date of the Cædwalla epitaph in 689.

One might go further. Sims-Williams in particular has produced a number of reasons for supposing that in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon England Milred of Worcester compiled his collection from a number of epigraphical sources, and there is some evidence that may link Aldhelm to the same body of material.³⁰⁹ Four congeners of Milred's collection are especially relevant here; all have interesting connections with Aldhelm's verse.

The *Anthologia Isidoriana* (AI) is a short sylloge of only eight items apparently compiled in seventh-century Spain, and often occurring in manuscripts of Isidore's *Etymologiae*.³¹⁰ No less than three of these items (XXII.2, XXII.5, XXII.7) are reproduced in the extant Milred collection, whilst a further two (XXII.1, XXII.3) reoccur in the so-called *Sylloge Cantabrigensis* reproduced by William of Malmesbury in his edition of the *Liber pontificalis*, and which Sims-Williams argues convincingly draws from the original Milredian compilation.³¹¹ Similarly, three items are duplicated in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta* (XXII.3 = VIII.73 (the epitaph for Gregory), XXII.5 = VIII.82, XXII.6 = VIII.5). The opening line of the first poem in the collection, the *Carmen Eucheriae* (omitted by de Rossi

³⁰⁷ In line 9 of the Cædwalla epitaph SLQ and Bede share the correct reading *redivinae*, whilst ST has the variant *recidin(a)e*, shared with Paulus Diaconus. See Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 32; HE, p. 470; VBOH I, 293.

³⁰⁸ ICUR, ns I, p. xxvii.

³⁰⁹ Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester'; and 'William of Malmesbury'.

³¹⁰ ICUR II, XXII, pp. 250–4; see too Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 29–30.

³¹¹ Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 29–32; and 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 17–18.

in his edition, and designated by him XXII.A), is of the golden line pattern so favoured by Aldhelm, who has perhaps imitated something of its diction.³¹² Such evidence seems suggestive, although far from secure.

More substantial evidence links Aldhelm to another congener of Milred's collection, a compilation of epigrams in a ninth-century French manuscript, perhaps from Fleury: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8071, fols. 60–1 (*P*).³¹³ Sims-Williams demonstrates that a precursor of *P*, which he calls 'II', was amongst Milred's sources, and that a close relation exists between *P* and *Sylloge Cantabrigensis*.³¹⁴ Amongst the epigrams in *P* is a poem by Damasus (no. 3 in Ferrua's edition, V. 14 in de Rossi's) which we have already seen to share certain parallel phrases with Aldhelm. The work is found only in *P* and *Sylloge Cantabrigensis* (SC I).³¹⁵ Three other poems share this distinction (V. 19 = SC VI; XXI.8 = SC IX; XXI.8a = SC X), two of which provide further possible Aldhelmian correspondences.³¹⁶ Also present in *P* is the poem by Damasus on St Paul

³¹² The *Carmen Eucheriae* is ed. Baehrens, *PLM* V, 363. We might note the following correspondences:

<i>Aurea concordi quae fulgent fila metallo</i>	XXII.A 1
<i>Aurea contortis flavescent pallia filis</i>	CE III.70
<i>Aurea dum fulvis flavescit bulla metallis</i>	E LV.5
<i>Bratea flaventis depromit fila metallo</i>	CdV 173

Similarly the last line of a couplet on the basilica of St Paul (a poem also found in *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*) has a possible correspondence with Aldhelm's verse:

<i>Doctoris mundi sacratum corpore Pauli</i>	XXII.6 2
<i>Quando crucis gabulum sacrato corpore scandit</i>	CdV 1638
<i>Quae conversa fuit sacrato dogmate Pauli</i>	CdV 1938

³¹³ *ICUR* II, V and XXI, pp. 56–7 and 242–9; see also Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', p. 32.

³¹⁴ Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 32–4; and 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 18–19.

³¹⁵ See L. Duchesne, 'Le Recueil epigraphique de Cambridge', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 30 (1910), 279–311, at 258, signalled by Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 19, n. 49.

³¹⁶ Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 18–19. We might note the following parallels:

<i>Constrictumque nitet lege Tonantis opus</i>	XXI.8 2
<i>O felix olim servata lege Tonantis</i>	E 81 6
<i>Redidit officii debita iura sui</i>	XXI.8a 4
<i>Vota vovete Deo reddentes debita pacta</i>	CdV 2106
<i>Ite simul semper caelestia sumite dona</i>	XXI.8a 9
<i>Mistica caelestis sumentes dona lavacri</i>	CdV 1532

(no. I in Ferrua's edition, *P* XXI.12) which proved so fertile a source for Aldhelm. Moreover several of the later poems in *P* demonstrate considerable Aldhelmian influence. One of the riddles in the collection not only echoes the *Enigmata* of Boniface, as Sims-Williams has shown, but also those of Aldhelm.³¹⁷

Following this poem in the manuscript are fragmentary traces of two further riddles, identified by de Rossi and edited in full by Riese.³¹⁸ The second of these, *De pariete et ariete*, of which but the single word *pariete* occurs in *P*, was thought by Ehwald to have influenced Aldhelm's own *Enigma* LXXXVI (*Aries*) at the thematic level, and seems also to have influenced his *Enigma* LXIII at the verbal level.³¹⁹ The poem which follows this in *P*, a rather anaemic work referring to Angilramm, archbishop of Metz (died 791), shows again clear influence of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*.³²⁰ Such tantalizing Aldhelmian links are scattered throughout *P*, which seems a curious collection both of earlier verses upon which Aldhelm seems to have drawn and of later verses which drew on his own work. An early English connection with a prototype of *P* is an attractive possibility.

Mention has already been made of the so-called *Sylloge Cantabrigensis*

³¹⁷ 'Milred of Worcester', p. 32, n. 66. Compare the following correspondence with a line from one of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*:

<i>Scrutetur sapiens lector quo nomine fungit</i>	XXI.4.9
<i>Scrutetur sapiens, gemino cur nomine fungar</i>	E XVIII.5

³¹⁸ *AL*, no. 738a (770) and no. 738b (771).

³¹⁹ *Opera*, p. 137; Ogilvy's comment: 'I fail to see the point of Ehwald's note' (*Books Known to the English*, p. 66) is simply insensitive. I note the following verbal parallel, also indicated by Glorie:

<i>Quod cernis dicor tollatur littera prima</i>	738b 1
<i>Littera tollatur: post haec sine prole manebo</i>	E LXIII.10

³²⁰ Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 32-3; on Angilramm see, for example, Lapidge, 'The Authorship of the Adonic Verses *Ad Fidorium* Attributed to Columbanus', pp. 295-6. We might note the following parallels:

<i>In latebris saxorum hominumque molimine mentis</i>	XXI.5 7
<i>Seduxit vana specie molimina mentis</i>	E P.28
<i>Invenit septas et sacro munere plenas</i>	XXI.5 8
<i>Alma domus veneror divino munere plena</i>	E LV.1
<i>Tempore iam nullo fraudentur luce serena</i>	XXI.5 17
<i>Raro me quisquam cernet sub luce serena</i>	E XXXV.3
<i>O clemens custos conserva hanc pervigil aedem</i>	XXI.5 18
<i>Fida satis custos conservans pervigil aedes</i>	E LXV.1

(SC) reproduced by William of Malmesbury in his edition of the *Liber pontificalis*. Sims-Williams has demonstrated that William was drawing extensively on Milred's collection which included amongst its sources a compilation of thirteen papal epitaphs preserved in the *Sylloge Laureshamensis secunda* (SLS).³²¹ No less than eleven such epitaphs are common to *Sylloge Cantabrigensis* and *Sylloge Laureshamensis secunda*, and the earliest of these, celebrating Pope Anastasius II (496–8) at St Peter's in Rome, seems to have been imitated by Aldhelm.³²² Only the the last three epitaphs in honour of Agatho (678–81), Benedict II (684–5) and John V (685–6) are arranged in chronological sequence, and this led de Rossi to suggest that the collection was therefore put together towards the end of the 680s.³²³ Of the links between *Sylloge Laureshamensis secunda* (SLS), Milred and *Sylloge Cantabrigensis*, Sims-Williams concludes that 'although the extant manuscript of SLS is ninth-century, there is nothing improbable about the text being known in eighth-century England, since it was compiled in the late seventh century. Indeed, it is not impossible that SLS reached Lorsch, near Mainz, via England.'³²⁴ One might wish to go further, and apply the same logic to the transmission of *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*, preserved in the same manuscript as *Sylloge Laureshamensis secunda* and with Aldhelmian links still more greatly pronounced.

A further sylloge, the so-called *Sylloge Wirceburgensis* (SW), is suggested by Sims-Williams to have shared sources with with the Milred collection, and seems also to have an Aldhelmian connection.³²⁵ Of the ten items in the sylloge, de Rossi has argued that *Sylloge Wirceburgensis* I–V and VI–X represent two separate collections, the latter consisting solely of Roman inscriptions.³²⁶ *Sylloge Wirceburgensis* IX and X are also found in the Milred

³²¹ 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 28–30. SLS is ed. de Rossi, *ICUR* II, XI, pp. 124–30.

³²² So, for example, we find the following parallel:

Limina nunc servo, tenui qui culmina sedis	XI.4 1
Sancrus apostolicae, qui rexit culmina sedis	CdV 542

A further correspondence between the *Enigmata* of Boniface and the same poem seems to indicate that this epitaph at least was familiar to early Anglo-Latin poets:

Presbytero genitus delegi dogmata vitae	XI.4 3
A qua praesentis moderantur dogmata vitae	I.23

³²³ *ICUR* II, p. 124.

³²⁴ 'William of Malmesbury', p. 30.

³²⁵ Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', p. 35; and 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 22–3. SW is ed. de Rossi, *ICUR* II, XIV, pp. 154–7.

³²⁶ *ICUR* II, pp. 154–5.

collection, and Sims-Williams has noted a shared error which points to some textual relationship.³²⁷ Of the remainder of this section, SW VI, a poem for the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere composed c. 821, seems to have drawn considerably on Aldhelmian diction.³²⁸ Whilst such parallels may simply reflect the huge influence of Aldhelm's poetry on later Latin verse, the Milred connection might indicate more substantial links.

In addition to epigraphical poetry perhaps derived from a small group of related sylloges, Aldhelm seems to have known a number of inscriptional verses preserved in unrelated collections or indeed in no manuscript collections at all. I should signal, for example, two possible correspondences, cited from the modern collection of Christian Latin inscriptions edited by Diehl:³²⁹

- | | |
|---|----------|
| [1] Semper et ob meritum <i>vincis praeconia laudis</i> | 1356.1 |
| Cetera virtutum <i>vincit praeconia laude</i> | CdV 146 |
| [2] Exhibet officia et puro <i>veneratur amore</i> | 1851.9 |
| Suscipiens Christum miro <i>veneratur amore</i> | CdV 1890 |

These inscriptions, from Nola and Spoleto respectively, are not found in any medieval sylloge extant, and this factor alone might make it unlikely that the parallels noted represent conscious borrowing on Aldhelm's part. However the extensive part played by Anglo-Latin authors, and by

³²⁷ 'Milred of Worcester', p. 35.

³²⁸ We might note the following parallels:

Haec domus ampla micat variis <i>fabricata metallis</i>	VIV.vi.1
Horrida, curva, capax, patulis <i>fabricata metallis</i>	E XLIX.1
Olim quae fuerat fracta sub <i>tempore prisco</i>	XIV.vi.2
Virgo dicata Deo florebat <i>tempore prisco</i>	CdV 1975
<i>Hanc aulam domini formans fundamine</i> claro	XIV.vi.3
<i>Hanc aulam Domini servat tutela</i> Mariae	CE II.1
Necnon telluris <i>formans fundamina</i> verbo	CdV 3
<i>Aurea gemmatis</i> resonant haec dindima templi	XIV.vi.5
<i>Aurea gemmatae</i> linquens crepundia pompae	CdV 1801
Quae pridem <i>in criptis pausabant membra</i> beata	XIV.vi.8
Et simul <i>in cripta pausant</i> sablone sepulti	CdV 1245
Et sarcofagus, qua <i>pausant membra</i> puellae	CdV 1971

For another possible connection between Aldhelm and this very church, see below, p. 211.

³²⁹ *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl, repr. with *Supplementum*, ed. J. Moreau and H. I. Marrou (Dublin and Zürich, 1967–70).

Aldhelm in particular, in the dissemination and transmission of epigraphical verse seems to reflect Anglo-Saxon pilgrim activity in Italy.

Indeed we know that Aldhelm himself had been just such a pilgrim, for in a letter addressed to him (*Ep* vi.494.14) an anonymous Irishman commends himself to Aldhelm's learning *quia tu Romae advena fuisti* ('because you have been a visitor in Rome'), and William of Malmesbury builds much of his narrative around the same trip.³³⁰ Partly on the evidence of a doubtful papal bull granting privileges to Malmesbury which William preserves, the date of Aldhelm's journey to Rome is assumed as taking place during the papacy of Sergius I (687–701), who seems to have taken an unusually active interest in the English church.³³¹ Sergius baptized and then buried Cædwalla (689), granted the pallium to both Berhtwald of Canterbury (693) and Willibrord of Frisia (695), and restored Wilfrid to the see of York (c. 700).³³²

Aldhelm would have much in common with such a man; he had himself defended Wilfrid, perhaps as early as 677, and (according to William of Malmesbury) had studied with Wilfrid's later opponent Berhtwald, who was to consecrate him bishop.³³³ Moreover Aldhelm too lamented Cædwalla's death in Rome in his *Carmen ecclesiasticum* on a Church of St Mary built by Bugga (*CE* III. 17–32), and in one verse of this poem apparently refers to Pope Sergius by the rather curious periphrasis *clementia Romae*, a term of address without parallel within Aldhelm's extant corpus, and one which has attracted scholarly comment but not explanation.³³⁴ It is intriguing to note that when Sergius consecrated Willibrord he gave him the name of Clement, and further intriguing to consider that this consecration took place in the old church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where later a dedicatory poem was erected (now preserved in *Sylloge Wirceburgensis* and discussed above) with striking verbal reminiscences of

³³⁰ *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 364–70.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 367–70. On the authenticity of this papal bull, see the cautious comments of Lapidge, *Prose Works*, pp. 9–10; for a more optimistic view, see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 576–7.

³³² Bede says that Berhtwald was consecrated by Bishop Godin of Lyons (*HE* V.8), although the two accounts are not necessarily contradictory; see *VBOH* II, 283; Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 242, n. 1.

³³³ See *Poetic Works*, p. 235, n. 19.

³³⁴ See Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 59–60; and Levison, 'Wann und weshalb wurde Wynfreth Bonifatius genannt?', *Neues Archiv* 33 (1908), 525–30.

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Aldhelm's own verse.³³⁵ Can Aldhelm's use of the term *clementia Romae* be considered as a quaint allusion to Sergius's services to his compatriot? Certainly Aldhelm puns on *clemential* *Clement* in the course of his account of that saint in the *Carmen de virginitate* (*CdV* 524–5); there is no such pun in the prose account (*PdV* 257).

We have seen that there are good reasons to believe that Aldhelm was both interested in and indebted to a wide range of epigraphical verses reflected in a fairly limited group of sylloges which can for other reasons be considered to be related; it seems possible that he was in Rome at precisely the time such a collection of verse can be deduced to have been made. It is tempting to speculate (though it is impossible to prove) that the *doctus quidam monachus Anglo-Saxonicus* to whom Silvagni wished to attribute his prototype sylloge is none other than Aldhelm himself.³³⁶

Other anonymous verses

Other specific individual verses and poems can be shown to have formed part of Aldhelm's remembered reading, and to have influenced his own metrical compositions. In the course of the *De metris* Aldhelm quotes a single verse which he attributes to 'Isidore' (*DM* 80.2), but which in fact is drawn from a poem on solar and lunar eclipses by the Visigothic king Sisebut (*d.* 620), often transmitted alongside the *De natura rerum* of Isidore of Seville.³³⁷ The *De natura rerum* is addressed by Isidore to the same Sisebut, and therefore Aldhelm's mistaken attribution is not particularly telling, for (as Fontaine remarks) with the exception of a single extant manuscript copied in 798 the poem appears as an anonymous appendix to Isidore's treatise in all the manuscript witnesses earlier than the ninth century.³³⁸ Ehwald has suggested that a number of lines from the *Carmen rhythmicum* reflect the influence of the *De natura rerum*, and a number of further parallels in Aldhelm's *Enigmata* suggest that he was familiar with the work.³³⁹ We can be sure that Isidore's *De natura rerum* was well known in English circles. Bede uses the treatise in the composition of his

³³⁵ *GP* V.223 (p. 376).

³³⁶ *ICUR*, ns I, p. xxvii.

³³⁷ Both the *De natura rerum* and the poem are ed. J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville: Traite de la Nature*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques 28 (Bordeaux, 1960).

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5.

³³⁹ *Opera*, pp. 101, 120, 123, 135 and 526.

computistical works, and Gneuss and Lapidge note its occurrence in five manuscripts and three booklists from Anglo-Saxon England.³⁴⁰ The earliest of these manuscripts, Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, F. III. 15 f, is an eighth-century work, and appears to have reached Fulda at an early date, whilst most recently Stevens has suggested a Wessex recension for the *De natura rerum*.³⁴¹ Fontaine considers the problematical question of whether the *De natura rerum* came to Anglo-Saxon England through the intermediary of Irish sources, a supposition which may have particular relevance here, since at least one Irish correspondent of Aldhelm's seems to have been familiar with the work.³⁴² This anonymous Irishman, whose letter to Aldhelm has already been discussed above, begins his address in a fashion apparently designed to echo the words of Isidore in the introductory letter to King Sisebut, as can be seen from a comparison of the two works (the Irishman's letter to Aldhelm is given first):³⁴³

Dum te praestantem ingenio facundiaque Romana ac vario flore litterarum, etiam Graecorum more non nesciam, ex ore tuo, fonte videlicet scientiae purissimo, discere malo quam ex alio quolibet potare turbulento magistro.

Dum te praestantem ingenio facundiaque ac uario flore litterarum non nesciam, inpendis tamen amplius curam, et quaedam ex rerum natura uel causis a me tibi effragitas suffragandum.

Recognition of the Irishman's model has a number of important ramifications. His use of the term *vario flore* has been seen as a reference to either or both versions of Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, and therefore has naturally been considered as a dating criterion, a possibility which evaporates if the Irishman is simply mimicking Isidore.³⁴⁴ This might admit the possibility that Aldhelm was able to read and imitate in his own verse the short

³⁴⁰ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 168; *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. Jones, p. 401; Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', nos. 258, 326, 398, 536 and 786; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists', pp. 51, 70 and 78.

³⁴¹ *CLA* VII. 848 (p. 3); W. M. Stevens, 'Scientific Instruction in Early Insular Schools', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. Herren, pp. 83–111, at 100–1.

³⁴² Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville*, pp. 75–8. For Irish knowledge of the work, see M. Herren, 'On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville', in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), pp. 243–50, at 246; and Herren, 'Classical and Secular Learning', p. 131. In his edition of the *Hisperica Famina: the A-Text*, p. 134, Herren further argues for a separate Irish recension of the *De natura rerum*.

³⁴³ *Opera*, p. 494; Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville*, p. 167.

³⁴⁴ *Prose Works*, p. 147.

Carmen paschale by Claudian apparently appended to this letter, as discussed above.³⁴⁵ More engaging is the observation that the encyclopedic Isidore was something of a favourite author amongst the seventh-century Irish, whilst King Sisebut, his addressee, is of Germanic descent, and (as a non-Latin-speaker) a comparative novice in intellectual matters. One wonders whether in this context, given Aldhelm's amply attested denigration of Irish learning, our anonymous Irishman's words might not be invested with some degree of irony. In view of the evidence already presented that Aldhelm knew both Isidore's treatise and the poem by Sisebut which it contains, it seems reasonable to look for further evidence of borrowing elsewhere in Aldhelm's verse. I detect only one possible parallel:

Inflexi praestant <i>obliquo tramite</i> cursus	54
Per caelum gradiens <i>obliquo tramite</i> flector	E LXXXI.3
Lustrat dum terras <i>obliquo tramite</i> Titan	CdV 181

That Aldhelm was indeed thinking of Sisebut's poem on solar and lunar eclipses is perhaps supported by context; all three verses noted describe the passage of heavenly bodies, namely the moon, the morning star and the sun.

Another verse cited by Aldhelm in the course of the *De pedum regulis* (DPR 169. 18) is there attributed to Ovid, although the line has long been recognized as deriving from a charming anonymous poem of only two elegiac couplets which in one of the two extant manuscripts is introduced with the rubric *ad puellam quam in somnis viderat*.³⁴⁶ The complete poem reads as follows:

Pulchra comis annisque decens et candida vultu,
Dulce quiescenti basia blanda dabas.
Si iam te vigilans non unquam cernere possum
Somne, precor, iugiter lumina nostra tene.

One of the manuscripts containing the poem, London, British Library, Royal 15. B. XIX, fol. 99 (s. x), is from Anglo-Saxon England, and there the verses are attributed to Vergil.³⁴⁷ But both this and Aldhelm's ascription to Ovid are clearly false; neither Vergil or Ovid ever uses the word *iugiter* which is moreover, only scanned as a anapaest (as here) by later

³⁴⁵ See above, pp. 154–5.

³⁴⁶ The poem is ed. Riese, *AL*, no. 674, and by Baehrens, *PLM* IV, 118.

³⁴⁷ Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List', no. 493.

poets: Aldhelm himself uses the word with just this scansion some twenty-one times in his own verse. That the poem should occur in an English manuscript is of some interest, but perhaps it is more intriguing to note that the only other extant manuscript containing the work, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I. 74, also contains Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and the only extant text of the *Versus sibyllae de iudicio Dei* already discussed above. Some Aldhelm connection for this manuscript seems likely. In any event Aldhelm was clearly very familiar with this rather charming and secular poem, as two verbal parallels, including one rather extensive borrowing from the opening line, demonstrate.³⁴⁸ Why Aldhelm should have considered the description applicable to the virgin Demetrias is not apparent; in any case his knowledge of the poem is plain.

SLIGHT EVIDENCE OF OTHER POETS

There are several other authors and works for which Manitius believed he had collected evidence of Aldhelm's first-hand knowledge. In every case this evidence is less strong than has been supposed, and there are grounds for doubt. With regard to Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Carmina* of Ausonius, for example, Manitius alleges two highly insubstantial parallels which can be immediately dismissed; I have not been able to supplement these meagre findings at all, and consider the evidence of Aldhelm's acquaintance with Ausonius entirely inadequate.³⁴⁹

Manitius offers four further parallels as indications of Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Carmina* of Sidonius Apollinaris:³⁵⁰

[1]	His hunc formatum studiis, <i>natalibus ortam</i>	II. 193
M	Nititur indolem claris <i>natalibus ortam</i>	CdV 1266
	Quam de stirpe bona et claris <i>natalibus ortam</i>	CdV 1784
	Eugeniam porro claris <i>natalibus ortam</i>	CdV 1883

³⁴⁸ So we might consider the following:

<i>Pulchra comis annisque decens et candida vultu</i>	1
<i>Pulchra comis cirisque decens et candida vultu</i>	CdV 2177
<i>Si iam te vigilans non unquam cernere possum</i>	3
<i>Pergere nec plantis oculis nec cernere possum</i>	E LXXII. 3

³⁴⁹ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 570-1. See too Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, pp. 96-7, and Tangl, *Die Briefe*, p. 145, where Ausonius's *Epigram VII* is included in the manuscript immediately after one of the letters of Lul.

³⁵⁰ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 574.

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Quam licet Europae faustis <i>natalibus</i> ortam	CdV 2164
Has igitur sponsi claris <i>natalibus</i> orti	CdV 2359
[2] Ac sic orsa loqui est: venio <i>pars tertia mundi</i>	V.56
M <i>Tertia pars mundi</i> mihi constat iure tenenda	E XXIX.6
[3] Cumque prius stricto quereretur de <i>cardine mundi</i>	VII.96
M Non perdit quicquam trino de <i>cardine caeli</i>	XVIII.156
Laetus concelebrat sub <i>caeli cardine mundus</i>	CdV 1887
Nonne satis foret, ut quadro cum <i>cardine mundus</i>	CdV 2689
[4] Intulit <i>ingluvies ventrem</i> , qui tempore parvo	VII.109
M <i>Ingluviem ventris</i> squamosis piscibus implens	CdV 223
<i>Ingluviem ventris</i> iuste signare potestur	CdV 2484

I have been unable to supplement this list at all, and moreover there are plausible alternative sources for at least two of these parallels. With respect to parallel [2], the closer correspondence *tertia pars mundi* is found in Corippus (*Iohannid* I.47); whilst with regard to parallel [3], the two cadences *cardine caeli* and *cardine mundi* are quite common, being found, for example, in Claudian (*In Rufinum* II.274), Statius (*Thebaid* XI.114), and Cyprianus Gallus (*Genesis* 80). The two parallels remaining seem a slim basis upon which to suggest that Aldhelm knew the poetry of Sidonius, elsewhere unattested in Anglo-Saxon England.³⁵¹

A better case can be made for Aldhelm's knowledge of the *Carmina* of Alcimus Avitus, although again this rests solely on the findings of Manitius, who noted the following six parallels:³⁵²

[1] Pulchra repentino vestita est <i>gramine tellus</i>	I.25
M Germinat ex gremio, cum glescit <i>gramine tellus</i>	CdV 1584
[2] O felix mundique decus <i>pulcherrima virgo</i>	II.145
M Nobilis in Roma vixit <i>pulcherrima virgo</i>	CdV 2051
[3] Adcelerate fugam; tendatur <i>tramite recto</i>	II.358
M Ut populum domini vadentem <i>tramite recto</i>	CdV 846
[4] Protinus <i>albentem</i> mittit de sede <i>columbam</i>	IV.579
M Vertit in <i>albentes</i> glauco sine felle <i>columbas</i>	CdV 492

³⁵¹ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 243.

³⁵² Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 579.

- | | |
|--|------------|
| [5] Deseruit vacuum victa quod morte resurgens | VI.267 |
| M Dum chaos inferni surgens de morte redemptor | CE IV.vi.7 |
| [6] Ambirent miseram <i>carnis commercia vitam</i> | |
| Nec penitus calcat licitae <i>commercias vitae</i> | CdV 126 |
| Horrescens penitus falsae <i>commercias carnis</i> | CdV 465 |
| Florida mundanae calcans <i>commercias vitae</i> | CdV 1845 |

Parallels [2], [4] and [6] are perhaps best ignored, since alternative sources were available to Aldhelm. The phrase *pulcherrima virgo* is also found in Ovid (*Metamorphoses* IX.9), *albentem . . . columbam* in Cyprianus Gallus (*Genesis* 303), and *commercias vitae* in both Cyprianus Gallus (*Genesis* 216) and Dracontius (*De laudibus Dei* I.591). As for parallel [3], the cadence *tramite recto* is found in the works of an author of Aldhelm's acquaintance, namely Paulinus of Nola (*Carmina* XX.376), although not in a poem he seems to have known.³⁵³ It is possible that parallel [5] foreshadows a true borrowing from Avitus, since although Aldhelm's *surgens de morte redemptor* may be a conflation of two borrowings from Arator (*de morte redemptum* and *surgit de morte* are found in close proximity in *De actibus apostolorum* II.779 and II.797), Manitius has overlooked a further verse from the same poem by Avitus, which reads:

Praebuit exemplum surgens a morte redemptor VI.223

That the poem in question is entitled *De virginitate* may strengthen the case for Aldhelm's knowledge of certain at least of the *Carmina* of Avitus, although the evidence of Aldhelm's borrowing seems as slight as that offered for a number of other Anglo-Latin poets.³⁵⁴

It is convenient to conclude this section on Aldhelm's remembered reading by simply listing a number of isolated parallels which I have noted connecting Aldhelm with the works of three further poets, although in each case the evidence is slight, and open to doubt. Manitius believed that the *Alethia* of Marius Victor, a three-book paraphrase of Genesis as far as the destruction of Sodom, was known to Bede and imitated by him in his metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, although he produced no particularly compelling evidence to support this notion.³⁵⁵ I note only the following parallels from Aldhelm:

³⁵³ See above, pp. 178–81.

³⁵⁴ See Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 97; Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 623; Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxxvii, lxxiv and 145.

³⁵⁵ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 620.

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- [1] *Omnipotens auctor, mundi rerumque creator* II.42
Omnipotens auctor, nutu qui cuncta creavit E XCI.1

- [2] *Da, pater, auxilium miserans atque imbue sensus* II.84
Da pius auxilium clemens, ut carmine possim CdV 17

Neither correspondence invites confidence. More substantial evidence links Aldhelm to the 616 verses of the *Eucharisticos* now assigned to one 'Paulinus of Pella', since although the sole surviving manuscript, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 317 (s. ix) states that the poem is *incerti auctoris*, the *editio princeps* and apparently the now-lost manuscript upon which it is based attributed the poem to Paulinus of Nola, an author Aldhelm doubtless knew.³⁵⁶ I note the following parallels:

- [1] *Quod nunc invito quoque me haec mea pagina prodit* 85
Sed priscos tantum cur patres pagina prodat CdV 391
- [2] *Inlecebros gravibus coniuncta et damna periclis* 257
Tetrica contemnens millenis damna periclis CdV 366
- [3] *Auxiliante Deo, cuius iam munus habebat* 375
Auxiliante Deo vernabant flore perenni CdV P.34

That there are three unparalleled correspondences in the course of such a short poem aids the case for Aldhelm's acquaintance with the work, although the evidence presented is far from conclusive. The same thing might be said of the evidence which connects Aldhelm with the *Carmina* of Eugenius of Toledo, an author traces of whose work some have found in Anglo-Saxon England.³⁵⁷ I note only two parallels, the second of which is drawn from the *appendix* to Eugenius's *Carmina*:

- [1] *Sis regno felix et pacis munere pollens* LXXIV.3
Haec, inquit, virtus caelesti munere pollens CdV 187
- [2] *Arbiter omnipotens ut possis fortiter hostes* XX.3
Arbiter omnipotens ad caeli culmina vexit CE IV.i.36
Arbiter omnipotens impendat praemia vitae CdV 2019

As with the poetry of Marius Victor and Paulinus of Pella, the verses of Eugenius of Toledo seem to have had little impact on Aldhelm, if he read them at all.

³⁵⁶ See above, pp. 178–81.

³⁵⁷ See Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 136.

CONCLUSION

Verses known to Aldhelm

We might summarize the results of all the above researches into Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse by listing various authors and works with which Aldhelm can be shown to have had some connection. I distinguish two main groups, of Classical and secular authors on the one hand, and of Late and Christian authors on the other; further groupings are indicated by the symbols '*', '#', and '?':³⁵⁸

(a) Classical Poets

* #	Ennius	<i>Annales</i>
* #	Terence	<i>Adelphoe</i>
* #		<i>Phormio</i>
* ?	Lucretius	<i>De rerum natura</i>
*	Vergil	<i>Aeneid</i>
*		<i>Eclogues</i>
*		<i>Georgics</i>
* ?	Pseudo-Vergil	<i>Culex</i>
?	Horace	<i>Satires</i>
?	Ovid	<i>Amores</i>
?		<i>Ars amatoria</i>
		<i>Metamorphoses</i>
* #	Seneca	<i>Agamemnon</i>
* ?	Persius	<i>Satires</i>
*	Lucan	<i>Bellum ciuile</i>
* #		<i>De Orpheo</i>
?	Statius	<i>Achilleid</i>
		<i>Thebaid</i>
*	Juvenal	<i>Satires</i>

(b) Late and Christian Poets

*	Juvenius	<i>Historia evangeliorum</i>
?	Claudian	<i>In Rufinum</i>

³⁵⁸ In the list, the symbol '*' has been used to denote authors and texts cited in the course of the two metrical treatises *De metris* and *De pedum regulis*; '#' denotes authors and texts for whom no evidence of borrowing exists in Aldhelm's own verse; '?' denotes authors

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?		<i>De raptu Proserpinae</i>
?		<i>De consulatu Honorii</i>
		<i>Carmina</i>
*		<i>Epithalamium Laurentii</i>
	Prudentius	<i>Hamartigenia</i>
		<i>Apotheosis</i>
		<i>Contra Symmachum</i>
		<i>Psychomachia</i>
		<i>Peristephanon</i>
		<i>Cathemerinon</i>
		<i>Dittochaeon versus</i>
* #	Proba	<i>Cento</i>
*	Cyprianus Gallus	<i>Heptateuchos</i>
*	Paulinus of Nola	<i>Carmina</i>
	Paulinus of Périgueux	<i>De Vita Martini</i>
?	Paulinus of Pella	<i>Eucharisticos</i>
*	Prosper of Aquitaine	<i>Epigrammata</i>
		<i>Carmen de ingratis</i>
?	Sidonius Apollinaris	<i>Carmina</i>
*	Caelius Sedulius	<i>Carmen paschale</i>
*	Arator	<i>Epistola ad Vigilium</i>
*		<i>De actibus apostolorum</i>
*	Symphosius	<i>Enigmata</i>
	Venantius Fortunatus	<i>Vita S. Martini</i>
		<i>Carmina</i>
?		<i>Appendix carminum</i>
	Damasus	<i>Epigrammata</i>
?	Dracontius	<i>Romulea</i>
		<i>De laude Dei</i>
		<i>Satisfactio</i>
?	Alcimus Avitus	<i>Carmina</i>
?	Marius Victor	<i>Alethia</i>
?	Corippus	<i>In laudem Iustini</i>
?		<i>Iohannid</i>
?	Eugenius of Toledo	<i>Carmina</i>
?		<i>Carminum appendix</i>

and texts the evidence for Aldhelm's first-hand acquaintance with which can be considered doubtful or insufficient.

Aldhelm's remembered reading in verse

	Anon.	<i>Carmen ad Flavium Felicem</i>
*	Anon.	<i>Versus sibyllae</i>
*	Various	<i>Epigraphica</i>
*	Various	<i>Anthologia latina</i>

The sheer length of this list is impressive, indicating a potentially extensive range of reading. The evidence of borrowing from Classical poets is less secure than that from the Late and Christian authors, although here are good reasons for supposing a detailed knowledge of specific works of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal and Statius in particular. Aldhelm's knowledge of Christian-Latin verse seems still more encyclopedic, with some evidence of acquaintance with many of his poetic predecessors.

Aldhelm's use of sources

But Aldhelm was no simple pirate of the diction of previous poets. Much of what he took he changed, combining phrases from a number of different authors after his own characteristic patterns and techniques of composition. Several verses are almost completely contrived from borrowed diction. We might consider three such verses, with an example taken from each of Aldhelm's major works:

[1] *Claviger aethereus, qui portam pandit in aethra* *CE* IV.i.2

[2] *Tempore de primo noctis mihi nomen adhaesit* *E* LVIII.1

[3] *Mistica caelestis sumantes dona lavacri* *CdV* 1532

Example [1] draws on the following three verses, the first of which is from Juvenius's *Historia Evangeliorum*, the others from Arator's *De Actibus Apostolorum*:

Sed Deus electis facilem praepandit in aethra III. 532

Claviger aethereus caelum conspexit apertum I.899

Claudit iter bellis qui portam pandit in astris I.1076

It will be observed that Aldhelm's verse falls into his normal strict caesura-patterning, and can be divided into three sections:

Claviger aethereus | qui portam | pandit in aethra

The first and third of these sections correspond exactly to two of the borrowed phrases, and it will have been observed throughout this chapter that Aldhelm's borrowing is frequently restricted to the two metrical cola before the first main caesura and in particular after the second. This characteristic style of borrowing highlights the integrity of the three main

cola already noted, and underlines their importance to Aldhelm's technique of composition. But Aldhelm's verse, although heavily derivative, is far from mere cento. By blending Arator's *qui portam pandit* with Juvenus's *praepandit in aethra* Aldhelm manages to maintain Arator's felicitous alliteration and introduce some word-play (*aethereus . . . aethra*) of his own. The finished verse proved something of a favourite with Aldhelm, who repeats it three further times in his corpus, with only slight modification.

Example [2] is confected from the following two verses from Symphosius's *Enigmata* and Horace's *Satires* respectively:

Nox *mihi* dat *nomen* *primo* *de tempore* *noctis* XXVIII. 1

Cui Canis ex vero dictum *cognomen* *adhaeret* II.ii.56

Once more Aldhelm manipulates the diction of both lines to produce his own characteristic caesura-patterning, and again phrases from each author are blended together through the shared word *nomen* rather than simply joined at the metrical break. The success of Aldhelm's technique of combining phrases from quite disparate sources is apparent; when the later Anglo-Latin poet Eusebius employs the cadence *mihi nomen adhesit* in his verse (*Enigmata* LV.2), it is clearly Aldhelm, rather than Symphosius or Horace, who has sprung to mind. Aldhelm's central role in the transmission and transformation of the diction of previous poets for later Anglo-Latin poets is investigated further below.

Example [3] is derived from another pair of lines, the first of which stems from Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* and the second from an anonymous epigraphical verse preserved only in two sylloges with Aldhelmian connections:

Ergo ubi flumineum post *mystica dona* *lauacrum* II. 166

Ite simul semper *caelestia* *sumite dona* XXI.viii.a.9

Once more a single shared word (*dona*) is at the heart of Aldhelm's reworking of both verses, again into the same characteristic caesura-pattern. Whilst his sources offer rather artless verses, Aldhelm creates a golden line, with (as often) a medial verb-form which scans as a metrical molossus. And again Aldhelm reworks the verse. Two later lines from the *Carmen de virginitate* are clearly modelled on Aldhelm's own newly coined verse, rather than refashioned from the same sources, as follows:

Limpida mundantis sectantes *dona* *lavacri* CdV 1576

Donec credentes *sumpsissent dona* *lavacri* CdV 1733

In the first case Aldhelm's golden-line pattern has been maintained, together with medial participle scanning as a molossus, whilst in the

second the complete half-line *sumpsissent dona lavacri* has been borrowed; in both cases the cadence *dona lavacri* is closer to Aldhelm than to Sedulius, his ultimate model.

Aldhelm alters his sources in other ways. It has already been observed that Aldhelm favours alliterating cadences, and often manipulates his model to gain the effect. Two examples will suffice:

[1] *Mellea tunc roseis haerescunt labra labellis* CdV 1159

[2] *Exueret mundum ut furva caligine Christus* CdV 1687

In both these cases Aldhelm's sources are evident; example [1] derives from the *Epithalamium* attributed to Claudian, example [2] from Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epigrammata*:

[1] *Mellea tunc roseis haerescant basia labris* 80

[2] *Exueret deus ut tetra caligine mundum* VIII. 1

With respect to example [1], the new alliterating cadence *labra labellis* seems to have become popular with Aldhelm, who proceeds to repeat it later in the same poem (CdV 1160 and 2137). The cadence *caligine Christus* coined for example [2] found no such favour, and occurs nowhere else. But it is interesting to consider in the same example the apparently quixotic change from Prosper's *tetra* to the metrically and semantically equivalent term *furva*. The change simply reflects Aldhelm's idiolect; one might usefully compare a further parallel from Vergil's *Aeneid*, where *fuscis* is replaced by *furvis* in somewhat similar circumstances, as follows:

Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis VIII. 369

Necnon et furvis terram complectitur alis CdV 629

Throughout Aldhelm's verse corpus the adjective *fuscus* occurs only once, *furvus* twenty-six times. Likewise the verb *amplector* is found only once, *complector* six times. Aldhelm's alteration of the nouns in this example is still more interesting. In the nominative, the form *tellus* occurs eighteen times in Aldhelm's metrical verse, *terra* only once; in the accusative (as here) the bias is reversed: *terram* is found ten times, *tellurem* never.

As a further indication of Aldhelm's fondness for alliterating cadences, one might note that he often emends his own coinages in the same way. Occasionally Aldhelm's entire progress from borrowed phrase to original diction can be charted. This is only possible when sources for most or all of the diction of an individual verse can be traced, as in the following line:

Quem pius aethrali ditavit gratia Christus CE IV. viii. 2

In this line Aldhelm seems to be drawing on one of the *Carmina* of Paulinus of Nola:

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Divitiis inopem *ditabit gratia Christi* XVI.283

Elsewhere in his corpus Aldhelm emends his own verse to produce the following line:

Quem Deus aethrali ditavit gratia gratis CdV 526

Here Aldhelm is echoing himself and has introduced his own alliterating cadence *gratia gratis*, which he then proceeds to use in two subsequent lines of the *Carmen de virginitate*:

Necnon divina praestavit *gratia gratis* CdV 1081

Qui semper tremulos tutatur *gratia gratis* CdV 2658

The first of these lines is simply a variation on the preceding verse cited from *Carmen de virginitate*, the second an independent development. In each case, however, Aldhelm moves farther from Paulinus, his original model. In such ways does Aldhelm outstrip his source. This discussion carries the interesting implication that by considering how Aldhelm develops his borrowed diction one can place his verses in relative order of composition. The notion might be tested by considering a further verse from the same *Carmen ecclesiasticum* from which the first of Aldhelm's analysed lines was drawn:

Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde negantes CE IV.viii.6

This line echoes a pair of verses from Prudentius's *Apotheosis*:

Corde tenebroso verum perpendere nescit 127

Auctorem lucis largitoremque dierum 701

A further line by Aldhelm is germane to the discussion:

Qui dominum *lucis tenebroso corde negabant* CdV 851

Once more Aldhelm appears to have modified one of his own verses without recourse to the original model. The evidence therefore suggests that the composition of this particular *Carmen ecclesiasticum* is earlier than that of the *Carmen de virginitate*, which appears to imitate its diction.

Such examples serve to illustrate the ways in which Aldhelm manipulates his borrowed diction, to make it his own. This is a technique which Aldhelm employs far more freely than other Latin poets, who often seem content simply to imitate earlier authors without attempting either to modify their source or adapt and reuse their borrowed diction. The wide gulf in metrical technique which separates Aldhelm from his own later imitators in Anglo-Latin verse will be seen more clearly in the final chapter, which considers Aldhelm's metrical legacy in Anglo-Saxon England.

Appendix 4.1

Parallel diction in Aldhelm's sources

		LUCRETIVS		M	657	<i>CdV</i> 2739
						<i>CdV</i> 2769
		<i>De rerum natura</i>			728	<i>CdV</i> 1288
				II	116	<i>CdV</i> 1835
I	154	<i>CdV</i> 2324			201	<i>CdV</i> 1065
	475	<i>CdV</i> 1552			204	<i>CE</i> IV.vii.29
II	449	<i>E</i> LXXVIII.10	M		384	<i>CdV</i> 618
			M		450	<i>CdV</i> 817
			M		512	<i>E</i> LVII.5
		VERGIL			523	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.18
			M			<i>CE</i> IV.ix.14
		<i>Aeneid</i>				<i>CdV</i> 1841
			M		535	<i>CdV</i> 2612
M I	67	<i>E</i> XCVII.7	M		749	<i>CdV</i> 1429
M	176	<i>CdV</i> 2325	M		758	<i>E</i> LXXVIII.1
M	239	<i>CdV</i> 1171		III	354	<i>CdV</i> 1263
		<i>E</i> LIV.2			491	<i>CdV</i> 2231
	333	<i>E</i> XCII.7			511	<i>CdV</i> 1774
	345	<i>CdV</i> 2064			575	<i>E</i> LIII.6
M	379	<i>CdV</i> 712	M		644	<i>CdV</i> 125
		<i>CdV</i> 744	M IV		59	<i>CdV</i> 1073
		<i>CdV</i> 774	M		119	<i>E</i> XCVII.12
	431	<i>E</i> XLVII.5	M		177	<i>E</i> XCVII.13
M	505	<i>CE</i> III.53	M		181	<i>E</i> XCVII.14
		<i>CE</i> IV.vi.2	M		182	<i>E</i> XCVII.15
M	655	<i>CdV</i> 1288	M		183	

References on the left of the column are to the work cited; references on the right of the column are to the texts of Aldhelm's poems. This list is provided to augment the material presented in the course of preceding chapter, particularly with reference to the summary index of Aldhelm's poetic sources given on pp. 219–21 above.

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M	184	E XCVII. 16		861	CdV 2612
	228	CdV 1729	M VII	26	CdV 1363
		E C. 6		74	CdV 2271
M	359	CdV 1132			CE IV. xi. 10
		CdV 1277	M	165	CdV 1958
		E XC. 1			E LX. 3
M	402	E LXV. 4	M	213	E XCII. 7
M	482	CE III. 73	M	338	CdV 1867
	563	CdV 2739	M	341	CdV 1105
		CdV 2769			CdV 1328
V	13	CdV 582			CdV 1811
M	54	CE III. 65			E XCVII. 7
M	58	CE III. 42		368	E LXIV. 3
	67	CdV 2740		433	CdV 2302
		CdV 2740		446	CdV 630
		E XCIII. 2			CdV 2231
M	208	E LXXIV. 7		447	CdV 2636
M	255	E LVII. 1	M	600	CdV 2103
	361	CdV 312			CE III. 5
	412	E X. 3		608	E LX. 1
	489	CE V. 8	M	641	CdV 30
M	708	CdV 1721		2	CdV 2460
M VI	48	CdV 2430	VIII	28	E LVII. 5
M	164	CdV 776		67	E XLI. 6
		CdV 2066	M	77	CdV 1338
	217	CdV 2612	M	369	CdV 629
M	232	CE IV. ii. 34	M	412	CdV 1294
	253	CdV 1384	M	429	E V. 3
		E C. 42	M	449	CdV 72
	258	CdV 281		507	CdV 2343
	263	CdV 533			CdV 2481
	305	CdV 2606		700	CdV 1548
	323	E LIII. 8	IX	3	CdV 534
M	369	E LIII. 8		23	CdV 410
	371	CdV 1790			E LIX. 2
	404	CdV 455	M	45	CdV 1286
	504	CdV 2530			CE IV. iii. 9
	675	CdV 148	M	415	CdV 2373
	779	E XXVI. 5	M	445	CdV 1790
	797	CE III. 73	M	456	CdV 1313
	828	CdV 308	M	470	CdV 646

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		<i>E</i> XCII.9			<i>CdV</i> 572
M	580	<i>CdV</i> 2659		275	<i>CdV</i> 2612
	658	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.13		351	<i>CdV</i> 1841
	726	<i>CdV</i> 2079		493	<i>E</i> XXVI.5
	732	<i>E</i> XXVI.5		607	<i>CdV</i> 2254
X	12	<i>CdV</i> 556		677	<i>E</i> VII.2
		<i>CE</i> IV.vii.21		900	<i>E</i> XCVII.1
	121	<i>CdV</i> 646			
		<i>E</i> XCII.9			
M	122	<i>CdV</i> 1650			<i>Eclogues</i>
	145	<i>CdV</i> 2386	M V	20	<i>CdV</i> 1962
M	146	<i>CdV</i> 276	M	56	<i>CdV</i> 1307
		<i>CdV</i> 1552		84	<i>CE</i> IV.x.8
	163	<i>CdV</i> 30	VI	52	<i>E</i> LIII.6
	209	<i>E</i> XVII.1	M VII	42	<i>E</i> C.26
M	216	<i>CdV</i> 1537	X	70	<i>E</i> VII.1
	244	<i>E</i> XLI.1			
	264	<i>CdV</i> 2707			<i>Georgics</i>
		<i>CE</i> IV.ix.7			
M	265	<i>E</i> XLVIII.6	I	22	<i>CdV</i> 111
		<i>E</i> LVII.5		39	<i>CdV</i> 1381
M	386	<i>CdV</i> 2267	M	57	<i>CE</i> III.81
		<i>CE</i> IV.iv.12		58	<i>CdV</i> 2348
	511	<i>CdV</i> 2316	M	139	<i>CdV</i> 1936
	550	<i>CdV</i> 2612		185	<i>E</i> LXV.4
M	746	<i>CdV</i> 959		256	<i>E</i> LXXVIII.10
		<i>E</i> LXI.4		275	<i>CdV</i> 1423
		<i>E</i> C.6		382	<i>CdV</i> 2678
M XI	90	<i>CdV</i> 1907		406	<i>E</i> XVI.3
		<i>CE</i> I.9			<i>E</i> LXII.3
		<i>CE</i> II.9		409	<i>E</i> XVI.3
	136	<i>E</i> LXXVIII.10			<i>E</i> XLII.3
	182	<i>CdV</i> 2693	M	495	<i>CdV</i> 2767
	188	<i>CdV</i> 2612		497	<i>CdV</i> 1769
	202	<i>CE</i> III.73	M II	13	<i>E</i> LXXXIV.6
	211	<i>CdV</i> 2606	M	31	<i>CdV</i> 169
	384	<i>CdV</i> 2530		90	<i>CdV</i> 2792
	424	<i>CdV</i> 630		172	<i>CdV</i> 556
		<i>CdV</i> 2231			<i>CE</i> IV.vii.21
M XII	167	<i>CdV</i> 361		209	<i>E</i> LXXXIII.3
		<i>CdV</i> 361	M	307	<i>CdV</i> 2733

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	436	<i>CdV</i> 399	II	ii.56	<i>E</i> LVIII.1
M	471	<i>E</i> LXV.6		v.12	<i>CdV</i> 238
III	32	<i>CdV</i> 2097		vii.86	<i>E</i> C.57
M	66	<i>CdV</i> 2693			
		<i>E</i> XXIII.4			
	208	<i>CdV</i> 2306		OVID	
M	297	<i>CdV</i> 2780			
	354	<i>CE</i> III.25		<i>Amores</i>	
	392	<i>CdV</i> 1383	E III	v.11	<i>E</i> C.54
M	480	<i>CdV</i> 341			
	551	<i>CdV</i> 2638			
M IV	3	<i>CdV</i> 656		<i>Ars amatoria</i>	
		<i>CE</i> IV.ii.8	M II	457	<i>CdV</i> 1715
M	190	<i>CdV</i> 630			
		<i>CdV</i> 2230			
		<i>CdV</i> 2231		<i>Metamorphoses</i>	
	209	<i>CdV</i> 650	I	63	<i>E</i> LI.3
		<i>CE</i> IV.x.18		733	<i>CdV</i> 1715
	223	<i>CdV</i> 341	II	220	<i>CdV</i> 1771
	269	<i>CdV</i> 2799	III	164	<i>CdV</i> 1236
M	441	<i>CdV</i> 919			<i>CdV</i> 1753
	548	<i>CdV</i> 1286			<i>CdV</i> 2421
		<i>CE</i> IV.iii.9	IV	726	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.23
			VI	713	<i>CdV</i> 1077
			E VII	258	<i>CdV</i> 1521
		PSEUDO-VERGIL	M	414	<i>CdV</i> 575
		<i>Culex</i>	M	626	<i>E</i> XL.1
				792	<i>E</i> C.9
M	408	<i>E</i> VI.3	VIII	371	<i>E</i> C. 54
		<i>E</i> XCVI.9		654	<i>CE</i> III.74
			IX	229	<i>CdV</i> 666
				475	<i>E</i> P.13
		HORACE	X	10	<i>CdV</i> 925
		<i>Satires</i>	XI	149	<i>CdV</i> 1718
				551	<i>CdV</i> 2040
E I	i.29	<i>CdV</i> 2796		596	<i>CdV</i> 1569
	ii.79	<i>CdV</i> 758	XII	194	<i>CdV</i> 1287
		<i>CdV</i> 2684	XIII	395	<i>E</i> XXXIV.2
		<i>CdV</i> 2774			<i>E</i> L.2
	95	<i>CdV</i> 2508			<i>E</i> LXXVIII.3
	iv.40	<i>CdV</i> 50	M	567	<i>E</i> XXI.5

Appendix 4.1

M	XIV	50	E XXXVIII.6			
M		60	E XCV.11			STATIUS
		752	E LXXII.4			<i>Achilleid</i>
			<i>CdV</i> 2869			
	XV	320	<i>CdV</i> 478	II	91	<i>CdV</i> 746
		359	E XXXI.5			<i>CdV</i> 1843
		651	<i>CdV</i> 1569			
M	XV	879	<i>CdV</i> 304			<i>Thebaid</i>
			PERSIUS	I	197	<i>CdV</i> 1306
				II	176	<i>CdV</i> 485
			<i>Satires</i>	M IV	591	CE I/II.9
						<i>CdV</i> 1907
M	Prologue	1-3	E P.12-13	VI	873	E XI.1
	V	120	<i>CdV</i> 1188	VII	44	E LV.9
			<i>CdV</i> 1574	VIII	56	<i>CdV</i> 456
			<i>CdV</i> 2265	IX	8	CE IV.iii.29
			LUCAN			JUVENAL
			<i>Bellum ciuile</i>			<i>Satires</i>
I		4	E XCVI.3	III	8	<i>CdV</i> 995
		86	E XCVI.3	M VI	87	<i>CdV</i> 2058
		238	<i>CdV</i> 1549	XV	162	E XXXIX.1
		605	<i>CdV</i> 1521	XVI	1	CE IV.iii.10
			<i>CdV</i> 2690		11	<i>CdV</i> 356
II		11	<i>CdV</i> 1040			
		212	<i>CdV</i> 2396			
III		505	<i>CdV</i> 2480			JUVENCUS
IV		384	<i>CdV</i> 2673			<i>Historia euangeliorum</i>
		811	<i>CdV</i> 2155			
V		537	E X.1	E P	13	<i>CdV</i> 2690
VI		536	<i>CdV</i> 1828	I	69	<i>CdV</i> 1704
VII		492	<i>CdV</i> 1347			<i>CdV</i> 2158
		569	<i>CdV</i> 297			CE II.26
VIII		386	<i>CdV</i> 869		85	<i>CdV</i> 246
IX		6	E IV.4		108	<i>CdV</i> 1905
		324	<i>CdV</i> 2807	M	117	<i>CdV</i> 920
					132	<i>CdV</i> 1263
					140	<i>CdV</i> 1707

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		CE II.29		495	<i>CdV</i> 2815
		<i>E</i> LXXXII.6		496	<i>CdV</i> 109
	308	<i>CdV</i> 1744	M	532	CE I.6
M	356	<i>CdV</i> 1031			CE IV.i.2
	364	<i>E</i> LXV.6		675	<i>CdV</i> 919
	404	<i>CdV</i> 1432		687	<i>CdV</i> 1572
	407	<i>CdV</i> 2061		697	<i>E</i> LXIV.3
	421	<i>CdV</i> 981		720	<i>CdV</i> 297
M	424	CE IV.v.6		729	<i>CdV</i> 2635
M	436	<i>CdV</i> 1968	IV	157	<i>CdV</i> 372
	517	<i>CdV</i> 1140		197	<i>CdV</i> 2624
		<i>CdV</i> 1230		224	<i>E</i> LXXXIX.3
	521	<i>CdV</i> 1857		242	<i>E</i> XX.1
		<i>E</i> P.28	M	307	<i>CdV</i> 2048
M	534	<i>CdV</i> 368		324	<i>CdV</i> 1665
		<i>CdV</i> 1472		366	<i>CdV</i> 2683
		<i>CdV</i> 2124		406	<i>E</i> XCIII.4
	730	CE IV.vi.17		423	<i>CdV</i> 1486
	738	<i>CdV</i> 557			<i>CdV</i> 2371
		<i>CdV</i> 956		537	CE IV.vi.12
	744	<i>E</i> LXXII.2	M	651	<i>E</i> LXXVII.1
	748	<i>E</i> LXXVI.5	M	672	CE IV.vi.13
	759	<i>CdV</i> 2436			<i>E</i> LXXVI.7
	768	CE IV.ii.20		684	<i>E</i> X.1
II	343	<i>E</i> LXXVI.5		697	<i>CdV</i> 2527
	519	<i>E</i> XXIV.4	M	757	<i>CdV</i> 1066
M	575	<i>CdV</i> 831			
	719	<i>CdV</i> 1328			
		<i>CdV</i> 1545			
	814	<i>CdV</i> 2750			CLAUDIAN
III	168	<i>CdV</i> 152			
	370	<i>CdV</i> 1178			<i>In Rufinum</i>
		CE IV.iv.8	B I	219	<i>CdV</i> 1352
	394	<i>E</i> XCIII.5	I	274	<i>E</i> C.8
	395	<i>E</i> XVII.4			<i>CdV</i> 259
	397	<i>CdV</i> 203			<i>CdV</i> 1887
		<i>CdV</i> 316			
	407	<i>CdV</i> 2715			
	409	<i>CdV</i> 2902			<i>De raptu Proserpinae</i>
M	485	<i>CdV</i> 88			
		<i>CdV</i> 1722		292	<i>CdV</i> 310

Appendix 4.1

<i>De consulatu Honorii</i>				<i>Peristephanon</i>		
B	III	4	E XXIV.2	III	5	CdV 521
				V	287	CdV 2442
			<i>Carmina</i>	VIII	7	CE IV.i.10
	XXIII	3	CdV 795	IX	79	CE IV.viii.7
		9	E LXXXIX.1	XI	90	E LXIII.5
					117	CdV 7
						CdV 263
			<i>Epithalamium Laurentii</i>		165	CdV 1774
					191	CdV 2580
		32	E C.15		225	CdV 2882
		36	E XXXIX.6	M XIV	25	CdV 1952
B		38	CdV 1169		55	CdV 1952
		41	E XXXIII.2			CdV 2546
		52	CdV 2126			
B		63	CdV 2788			
		66	CdV 1061			
M		80	CdV 1159			
				L	6	CdV 2865
					7	E LXXII.8
			PRUDENTIUS	I	96	CdV 2634
					355	CdV P.34
			<i>Apotheosis</i>	M	436	CdV 2575
		127	CE V.viii.6	I	452	CdV 2547
		544	CE IV.xiii.5		716	CdV 185
		632	E P.9	M	736	CdV 2882
		697	CdV 679		752	CdV 1552
		701	CE IV.viii.6			
		910	CdV 131			
			CdV 653			
						<i>Contra Symmachum</i>
				I	141	CdV 1662
					148	CE IV.i.10
			<i>Cathemerinon</i>		375	CdV 2659
M V		48	E XCVI.1		456	CdV 2029
					577	CdV 1418
			<i>Hamartigenia</i>	II	7	CdV P.34
					155	CdV 113
		281	CdV 1			CdV 1457
			E C.7		301	E XC.2
		580	CdV 1832		815	E LXXI.4
		919	CE IV.vii.24		896	CdV 848

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	<i>CdV</i> 1521	W XXVII	39	<i>CdV</i> 971
990	<i>CdV</i> 329	M	89	<i>CdV</i> 584
		M	411	<i>CdV</i> 414–15
			434	<i>CdV</i> 1437

Dittocbaeon

95	<i>CdV</i> 2151
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PAULINUS OF PÉRIGUEUX

CYPRIANUS GALLUS

De vita Martini

<i>Heptateuchos</i>				I	231	<i>CdV</i> 1089
					287	<i>CdV</i> 155
W	Genesis	31	<i>CdV</i> 62			<i>CdV</i> 729
		572	<i>CdV</i> 1445			<i>CdV</i> 2378
			<i>CdV</i> 2816	II	154	<i>CE</i> IV.x. 13
W	Exodus	4	<i>CdV</i> 751	M	650	<i>CdV</i> 1792
		20	<i>E</i> XCII.3	III	370	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.27
		56	<i>CdV</i> 1798	IV	480	<i>CE</i> II.10
		131	<i>CdV</i> 1775	M	500	<i>CdV</i> 2823
		201	<i>CdV</i> 910		645	<i>CdV</i> 131
	Numbers	749	<i>CdV</i> 1793	V	338	<i>CdV</i> 2814
	Judges	185	<i>CdV</i> 2508		450	<i>CdV</i> 1333
		212	<i>CdV</i> 1525			<i>CdV</i> 2504
		227	<i>E</i> LXXII.1			<i>CdV</i> 2846
		359	<i>E</i> XCVI.4	M	476	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.20
		395	<i>E</i> XLVI.4	VI	269	<i>CdV</i> 2236

PAULINUS OF NOLA

PAULINUS OF PELLA

<i>Carmina</i>				<i>Eucharisticos</i>		
M	XV	1	<i>CdV</i> 904		85	<i>CdV</i> 391
M		69–70	<i>CdV</i> 896		257	<i>CdV</i> 366
			<i>CdV</i> 2176		375	<i>CdV</i> P.34
W		185	<i>CdV</i> 1758			
	XVI	20	<i>CdV</i> 1799			
		252	<i>CdV</i> 269			
		283	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.2			
W	XVIII	231	<i>CdV</i> 784			
	XIX	288	<i>CdV</i> P.11	VIII	1	<i>CdV</i> 1687
		344	<i>CdV</i> 700	XVIII	3	<i>CdV</i> 103
		726	<i>CdV</i> 488	XXI	3	<i>CdV</i> 1809

PROSPER OF AQUITAINE

Epigrammata

Appendix 4.1

			<i>CdV</i> 2353			<i>CdV</i> 1457
LVIII	7		<i>CdV</i> 2825		56	<i>CE</i> I.20
LXII	7		<i>CdV</i> 38	M	61	<i>CdV</i> 514
			<i>CdV</i> 39		91	E LXXVIII.2
LXXVI	3		<i>CdV</i> 129	M	95	<i>CdV</i> 543
CII	5		<i>CdV</i> 103			<i>CdV</i> 685
CIV	5		<i>CdV</i> 34			<i>CdV</i> 1455
				W	103	<i>CdV</i> 2348
		<i>Carmen de ingratias</i>		W	127	<i>CdV</i> 1755
	158	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.11			129	<i>CdV</i> 477
	796	<i>CdV</i> 300	W		136	<i>CdV</i> 498
	928	<i>CdV</i> 2026				<i>CdV</i> 5
						<i>CdV</i> 423
						<i>CdV</i> 1736
						E XVII.1
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS			M		146	<i>CdV</i> 1625
			W		162	<i>CE</i> IV.xii.11
		<i>Carmina</i>			163	<i>CdV</i> 2733
M II	193	<i>CdV</i> 1266	M		175	E LXIII.7
		<i>CdV</i> 1784	W		179	<i>CdV</i> 188
		<i>CdV</i> 1883	W		203	E LIV.4
		<i>CdV</i> 2164	M		205	<i>CdV</i> 384
		<i>CdV</i> 2359			208	<i>CdV</i> 2775
M VII	109	<i>CdV</i> 223			211	E LIII.6
		<i>CdV</i> 2484	M		219	<i>CdV</i> 1443
			M		236	<i>CdV</i> 362
						<i>CdV</i> 1241
CAELIUS SEDULIUS						<i>CdV</i> 1434
		<i>Carmen paschale</i>				<i>CdV</i> 1999
					248	<i>CdV</i> 1198
W I	5	<i>CdV</i> 70			278	E C.15
	20	<i>CdV</i> 2457			285	<i>CdV</i> 1589
M	23	<i>CdV</i> 2415	M		301	<i>CdV</i> P.17
	28	<i>CdV</i> 1543	M		306	<i>CdV</i> 2017
W	44	<i>CdV</i> 1307	M		311	<i>CdV</i> 650
		<i>CE</i> IV.i.18				<i>CE</i> IV.x.18
M	47	<i>CdV</i> 690	E		313	<i>CdV</i> 1686
		<i>CE</i> IV.iii.11				<i>CdV</i> P.24
		<i>CE</i> IV.ix.4				<i>CE</i> II.5
W	48	<i>CdV</i> 370				E LXXXI.1
W	49	<i>CdV</i> 113	M		341	<i>CdV</i> 571

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		<i>CdV</i> 752		110	<i>CdV</i> 2065
		<i>CdV</i> 1226		126	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.33
		<i>CdV</i> 1503	M	138	<i>CdV</i> 1496
		<i>CdV</i> 2005	M	173	<i>CE</i> IV.x.5
		<i>CdV</i> 2019		183	<i>CdV</i> 1001
		<i>CdV</i> 2027	W	185	<i>CdV</i> 2423
		<i>CdV</i> 2275		190	<i>CdV</i> 436
		E XCI.5		201	<i>CE</i> IV.i.31
E	360	<i>CdV</i> 412		206	E XLI.6
W	12	<i>CdV</i> 793	W	235	<i>CdV</i> 813
		<i>CE</i> III.12			E LVIII.5
M	19	<i>CdV</i> 478	W	239	<i>CdV</i> 454
M	51	<i>CdV</i> 2737	M	254	<i>CdV</i> 1088
M	67	<i>CdV</i> 898		282	E XXXI.1
	72	<i>CdV</i> 1070	W	295	<i>CdV</i> 1212
	113	<i>CdV</i> 1691		300	<i>CdV</i> 929
		<i>CE</i> II.13			E LIV.5
M	116	<i>CE</i> IV.vii.23	W IV	21	<i>CdV</i> 2756
	149	<i>CdV</i> 1684		36	<i>CdV</i> 472
W	158	<i>CdV</i> 2054	E	38	<i>CdV</i> 958
	166	<i>CdV</i> 1532			<i>CdV</i> 2869
		<i>CdV</i> 1576			E LXXII.4
		<i>CdV</i> 1733	W	49	<i>CdV</i> 2085
	171	<i>CdV</i> 436		55	E LXIX.1
M	176	<i>CdV</i> 396		63	<i>CdV</i> 1913
		<i>CdV</i> P.25			<i>CE</i> IV.ix.6
		<i>CE</i> IV.x.16			E XCV.2
M	197	<i>CdV</i> 549		75	<i>CdV</i> 2823
	202	<i>CE</i> IV.vii.6	W	89	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.13
W	206	<i>CdV</i> 709		93	<i>CdV</i> 2718
		<i>CdV</i> 2273		148	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.7
	209	<i>CE</i> II.2		162	<i>CE</i> IV.i.10
M	283	<i>CdV</i> 2018	W	171	<i>CdV</i> 664
	34	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.20		181	<i>CdV</i> 921
M	36	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.21		219	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.11
W	71	<i>CdV</i> 427		221	<i>CdV</i> 2108
		<i>CdV</i> 1595			<i>CE</i> IIV.ii.20
W	75	<i>CdV</i> 381		228	<i>CdV</i> 2440
		<i>CdV</i> 1210		296	E XXXIX.4
	81	<i>CdV</i> 365	V	44	<i>CdV</i> 2594
W	82	E C.17		46	<i>CdV</i> 260

Appendix 4.1

	72	<i>CdV</i> 1357		795	E XXXV.1
	79	<i>CdV</i> 16		849	<i>CdV</i> 679
	86	<i>CdV</i> 2580		864	<i>CdV</i> 679
W	87	<i>CdV</i> 2576		887	<i>CdV</i> 1316
	97	<i>CdV</i> 2251	M	899	CE I.6
M	131	CE V.8			CE IV.i.2
	165	E XCVIII.2	M	1076	CE I.6
M	182	<i>CdV</i> 452			CE IV.i.2
		<i>CdV</i> 2889	II	96	<i>CdV</i> 1365
		CE IV.ii.21		100	E LXVI.5
M	206	E XLII.2	M	149	<i>CdV</i> 1677
		E LVI.3		160	<i>CdV</i> 1977
	219	<i>CdV</i> 1404		414	<i>CdV</i> 2231
	285	<i>CdV</i> 2889		687	<i>CdV</i> 1365
M	288	<i>CdV</i> 2278		779	CE IV.vi.7
		CE IV.ii.33		789	<i>CdV</i> 417
	291	<i>CdV</i> 883		797	CE IV.vi.7
W	328	<i>CdV</i> 2369	M	901	<i>CdV</i> 38
	376	CE IV.vi.11		912	<i>CdV</i> 203
E	396	CE IV.iii.8		1072	CE IV.i.14
	424	<i>CdV</i> 1763		1156–60	CE IV.ii.24–8

ARATOR

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS

De actibus apostolorum

Vita S. Martini

EF	21	E XCVI.1	M	I	2	<i>CdV</i> 852
M	I	70			111	<i>CdV</i> 2850
		100				E LVI.2
M		157			122	<i>CdV</i> 898
		173			288	E C.35
		211			305	<i>CdV</i> 719
		219			457	E LVI.2
M		404		II	26	E C.54
					27	<i>CdV</i> 384
		455			42	<i>CdV</i> 1428
					88	<i>CdV</i> 1146
		456		M	122	CE IV.ii.36
		540			321	<i>CdV</i> 709
		662			457	CE IV.ii.36
		754		III	192	CE V.6

The poetic art of Aldhelm

	328	E XCIX.5			<i>De virginitate (Carmina VIII.iii)</i>
	449	CE V.6			
IV	96	CdV 580		5	CE IV.ii.36
	153	CdV 2208	M	7	CdV 735
	238	CdV 852		93	CdV 2543
	246	CdV 1325		155	CdV 878
M	275	E XCV.8		319	CdV 2543
	292	CdV 2309			
	471	CdV 2733			
					<i>Carminum appendix</i>
			I	59	CE IV.iii.3
				101	CdV 1627
		<i>Carmina</i>			
I	ii.26	CdV 731			
	xv.33	CdV 898			
II	xiv.16	CE V.13			
M	xv.13	CdV 55			
		CdV 80	P	3	CdV 2221
		CdV 392			E XII.1
III	ix.12	CE IV.x.11	G	XXVIII 1	E LVIII.1
	xiii.11	CdV 266		XXIX 2	CE IV.vii.26
	xiiid.1	E XIX.1	G	XXXV 2	E XXXVI.2
IV	ix.27	CdV 566			E LXXIV.8
V	v.87	CE IV.vi.12		XXXIX 1	E LXXI.1
VI	i.108	E C.15	G	XLIV 1	E XLVI.1
	ia.25	CdV 2585	G	LVIII 1	E II.1
	iv.8	CdV 1975	G	LXVII 2	E XLIV.7
VII	i.23	CdV 2529		LXXIV 3	E L.3
	vi.5	CE III.68	G	LXXIX 1	E LXVI.1
	xii.95	CdV 735	G	LXXXIX 1	E XLIX.1
	xxivg.1	CdV 1347			
		E XXIV.3			
VIII	iv.4	CdV 186			
		CdV 1070			
	v.5	CdV 2894			
	vii.3	CdV 167	Y	I 1	CdV 2712
IX	ii.122	E C.15	Y	6	CE I.15
	iii.6	CdV 1669	Y	10	CE I.13
X	vi.59	CdV 698			CE IV.ii.2
	xi.15	CdV 698	Y	20	CdV 440
			Y	24	CdV 1631
			Y	26	CdV 1916

Appendix 4.1

	III	3	E LXXIX.7	M II	358	<i>CdV</i> 846
		7	E XXVII.1	VI	223	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.7
Y	XVI	9	<i>CdV</i> 746			
			<i>CdV</i> 1843			
Y	XVII	4	<i>CdV</i> 2300		MARIUS VICTOR	
Y	XXXV	4	<i>CdV</i> 683			
	XLVII	4	<i>CdV</i> 1317		<i>Alethia</i>	
			<i>CdV</i> 2340	II	42	E XCI.1
			<i>CdV</i> 2376		84	<i>CdV</i> 17

DRACONTIUS

CORIPPUS

Romulea

In laudem Iustini

M VII	154	E XXXVI.2	M I	246	<i>CdV</i> 1361
VIII	53	<i>CdV</i> 2861	M II	12	<i>CdV</i> P. 11
			M	322	E XII.3
			III	100	E LV.5
	<i>De laude Dei</i>			197	<i>CdV</i> 2741

De laude Dei

I	63	E XXXIII.1
M	149	<i>CdV</i> P.31
M	580	<i>CdV</i> 2691
II	102	<i>CdV</i> 2349
		<i>CdV</i> 2901
M	295	E XXXVI.3
		<i>CdV</i> 1749
	692	<i>CdV</i> 2745

Iobannid

I	47	E XXIX.7
M	260	<i>CdV</i> 1146
	380	<i>CdV</i> 314
III	238	<i>CdV</i> 2678
IV	303	<i>CE</i> IV.i.6
M VI	564	<i>CdV</i> 1413
		<i>CdV</i> 2243
		<i>CdV</i> 2389

Satisfactio

M	5	<i>CdV</i> 2874
M	9	<i>CdV</i> 2875
	131	<i>CdV</i> 354
M	151	<i>CE</i> III.31
		<i>CdV</i> 755
		<i>CdV</i> 2160

EUGENIUS OF TOLEDO

Carmina

LXXIV 3 *CdV* 187

ALCIMUS AVITUS

Carmina

Carminum appendix

		<i>Carmina</i>	XX	3	CE IV.i.36
M I	25	<i>CdV</i> 1584			<i>CdV</i> 2019

The poetic art of Aldhelm

	ANON.			<i>CdV</i> 1698
			356	<i>CdV</i> 1690
	<i>Carmen ad Flavium felicem</i>		406	<i>CdV</i> 2027
Z	1	<i>CdV</i> 23		
	8	<i>CdV</i> 1426		<i>Versus sibyllae</i>
	20	<i>CdV</i> 1877	2	E P.35
	28	E III.1	13	CE II.31
	83	<i>CdV</i> 2827	23	E XIII.1
	92	<i>CdV</i> 816	25	CE IV.vi.24
	96	<i>CdV</i> 278		<i>CdV</i> 1248
W	105	CE I.15	28	E LV.7
	208	<i>CdV</i> 171		<i>CdV</i> 795
Z	219	CE II.20		<i>CdV</i> 847
		E LXXXIV.8 U	30	<i>CdV</i> 282

After Aldhelm: the Anglo-Latin legacy

The extent of the influence of Aldhelm's Latin verse in later Anglo-Saxon England can to some degree be measured by the large number of surviving manuscripts from the period.¹ Of twenty-one English manuscripts containing Aldhelm's works, five contain the *Carmen de virginitate* and four the *Enigmata*; all manuscript evidence for the collection of the *Carmina ecclesiastica* is continental.² Extensive glossing in a number of these manuscripts points to detailed study of Aldhelm's verse, particularly in the later period, and these indications are fully borne out by imitation of Aldhelm's poetry in the verses of subsequent Anglo-Latin authors.³

It is a mark of the immediate popularity of Aldhelm's verse that practically every Anglo-Latin hexameter composition penned within a century of his death is heavy with his influence; indeed much extant Latin

¹ On manuscripts of Aldhelm, see *Opera*, pp. 9–11, 35–58, 213–25 and 329–49, to be supplemented in the case of the *Enigmata* and the *Carmen de virginitate* by Lapidge's notes, *Poetic Works*, p. 246, n. 38 and p. 256, n. 11.

² The surviving manuscripts of the *Carmen de virginitate* from Anglo-Saxon England are as follows (nos. 661, 542, 584, 82 and 12 in Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List'): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (S.C. 12541) (NE France, s. ix²; provenance Bury St Edmunds); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 49 (S.C. 1946) (Old Minster, Winchester, s. x^{med}); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 577 (S.C. 27645) (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 285, fols. 75–131 (s. xiⁱⁿ); Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}). Surviving manuscripts of the *Enigmata* are as follows (nos. 845, 661, 478 and 12 in Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List'): St Petersburg, Public Library, Q. v. I. 15 (s. viii²); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (S.C. 12541) (NE France, s. ix²; provenance Bury St Edmunds); London, British Library, Royal 12. C. XXIII (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi); Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}).

³ See *Poetic Works*, p. 247, n. 45 and p. 256, n. 13. Cf. Stork, *Through a Glass Darkly*, esp. pp. 70–9; Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', pp. 75–6.

metrical verse from Anglo-Saxon England written before the tenth century is little more than Aldhelmian pastiche. It is important to examine a number of examples of such verse, since although Aldhelm's influence has generally been recognized, the extent of the debt has in every case been underestimated. Close examination of the ways in which later Anglo-Latin poets recast Aldhelm's verse is also of use in establishing how much their metrical techniques differ from their model.

Aldhelm's poetry was popular even within his own lifetime. We have already seen how Æthilwald imitated Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* in his own octosyllables, and it will be recalled that among the three poems sent to the master for correction was a hexameter composition, similarly derivative, one might assume, and now lost.⁴ More direct and intriguing evidence of the popularity of Aldhelm's metrical verse can be inferred from a letter sent to him by the Irish monk Cellanus, writing from Péronne in Picardy, in which a request that Aldhelm send *paucos . . . sermunculos* ('a few little works') is preceded by the words 'Etsi te praesentem non meruimus audire, tuos tamen bona lance constructos legimus fastos, diversorum deliciis florum depictos' (*Ep* ix.498).⁵ It is tempting to see here a reference to 'either or both versions of the *De virginitate*', as Lapidge does, pointing out that *fastus* is exactly the term used by Aldhelm to refer to his earlier prose *De virginitate* (*CdV* 21), whilst in the prose *De virginitate* itself he speaks of the process of composition as 'purpureos pudicitiae flores ex sacrorum voluminum prato decerpens'.⁶ The letter can be dated within the period of Aldhelm's abbacy (c. 675–705), to judge by Cellanus's use of the term *archimandrita*, and moreover the Irishman himself died in 706.⁷ Now Cellanus appears to have written some hexameter verses addressed to Transmarus of Picardy, extant in a sylloge contained in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, lat. plut. LXVI. 40 (?Monte Cassino, s. ix), and containing at least one apparent Aldhelmian borrowing.⁸ In the same

⁴ See above, pp. 22–5.

⁵ *PdV* 249. 14–15: 'Even if we have not had the privilege of hearing you in person, we have nevertheless read your books, which are put together with a fine balance, and adorned with the delights of various flowers'. On this letter, see *Prose Works*, p. 149. On Cellanus, see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 151.

⁶ 'Plucking modesty's purple flowers from the field of sacred books', *Prose Works*, pp. 14 and 203, n. 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁸ Line 10 contains the cadence *describi carmina versu*, which answers more closely to Aldhelm's cadence *scribantur carmina versu* (*CdV* 45) than any other possible source, such

manuscript there are some further verses on an oratory dedicated to St Patrick, which Traube has also assigned to Cellanus.⁹ The same poem is found in both the Urbana bifolium and in Leland's *Collectanea*, and appears to have been part of the collection of Latin epigrams compiled by Milred of Worcester.¹⁰ This eight-line poem also has a number of Aldhelmian parallels of diction and particularly verse-structure.¹¹ It is surely striking that the author of both this and the poem to Transmarus of Picardy should appear to have imitated only Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*. If Traube's identification of the poet of both sets of verses is correct, then we have at once corroboration that Cellanus had indeed read the *Carmen de virginitate* and evidence that Aldhelm's metrical verse was not merely read, but remembered and recycled on the Continent within his own lifetime.

There is plentiful evidence that Aldhelm's verse proved influential on a number of later continental poets also, and this influence undoubtedly received fresh impetus from the continental activities of Anglo-Saxons such as Boniface and Alcuin, both of whom were profoundly indebted to Aldhelm in their verse diction.¹² But the extent of Aldhelm's direct influence on continental poets is very much a secondary development, and in what follows we shall focus on the poetic debt owed him by successive generations of Anglo-Latin poets in eighth-century Southumbria, in

as Venantius Fortunatus (probably Aldhelm's own source), who uses the cadence *carmina versu* twice in his *Carmina* (III.xviii.3 and VII.xviii.3). On these verses, see Traube, 'Peronna Scottorum'; J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide*, with addenda by L. Bieler (New York, 1966), p. 507.

⁹ Traube, 'Peronna Scottorum', pp. 488–9.

¹⁰ See Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', pp. 804–5; Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 24–5; and *Religion and Literature*, p. 351.

¹¹ We might compare the following:

- | | |
|--|--|
| [1] Istam Patricius sanctus <i>sibi vindicat aulam</i>
Spiritus altithroni templum <i>sibi vindicat almus</i> | 1
<i>CdV</i> 147 |
| [2] Iste medelliferi monstravit <i>dona lavacri</i>
Mistica caelestis sumentes <i>dona lavacri</i>
Limpida mundantis sectantes <i>dona lavacri</i>
Donec credentes sumpsissent <i>dona lavacri</i> | 3
<i>CdV</i> 1532
<i>CdV</i> 1572
<i>CdV</i> 1733 |
| [3] Ambo <i>stelligeri</i> capientes praemia <i>caeli</i>
Lucida <i>stelligeri</i> qui conditis culmina <i>caeli</i>
Lucida <i>stelligeri</i> scandentes culmina <i>caeli</i>
Limpida <i>stelligeri</i> scandentes culmina <i>caeli</i> | 8
<i>CdV</i> 2
<i>CdV</i> 1445
<i>CdV</i> 2816 |

¹² See below, pp. 248–54.

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eighth- and ninth-century Northumbria, and finally in tenth-century Wessex.

EIGHTH-CENTURY SOUTHUMBRIA

Aldhelm was such a key figure in the Southumbrian church that it is hardly surprising that the influence of his verse in that area should have proved profound. In the early period this was particularly true of his *Enigmata*, a form which, in an Anglo-Latin context, Aldhelm can be said to have invented. Figures such as Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury 731–4, fell under his sway. Tatwine, a Mercian by birth, had been abbot at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, and his own forty *Enigmata*, linked by a complicated acrostic, are informed by a thorough knowledge of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* and in particular his *Enigmata*; Glorie offers a large number of parallels, and his list can be extended greatly.¹³ Tatwine's collection of *Enigmata* is supplemented in both extant manuscripts by the addition of a further sixty *Enigmata* by one 'Eusebius', apparently in an effort to make up the (by now) canonical hundred *Enigmata* of Aldhelm, who was in turn following Symphosius.¹⁴ Eusebius does not, however, appear to have been directly influenced by Symphosius,

¹³ On Tatwine, see particularly Bede's account in *HE* V.23 and Plummer's notes, *VBOH* II, 341. Tatwine's *Enigmata* are ed. Glorie, CCSL 133, 165–208, and several debts to Aldhelm are indicated in the notes. See too *Poetic Works*, pp. 66–7. Amongst a number of parallels between Tatwine's *Enigmata* and Aldhelm's verse, particularly his *Carmen de virginitate*, not noted by Glorie, I would signal the following:

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| [1] <i>Diversisque intus fulgent ornamenta metallis</i> | III.3 |
| <i>Diversis vidit iam praesagata metallis</i> | CdV 337 |
| [2] <i>Vincta tribus nunc in terris persolvo tributum</i> | VI.3 |
| <i>Confero: sic duplex fati persolvo tributum</i> | E XVII.4 |
| [3] <i>Parvulus ast obiens me iam prostraverat armis</i> | XXV.5 |
| <i>Ieiunii validis pellax prosternitur armis</i> | CdV 2493 |
| [4] <i>Obvia fata iuvant et corpora sternere leto</i> | XXXII.2 |
| <i>Sed gracilis grande soleo prosternere leto</i> | E XCIII.4 |
| [5] <i>Inclita Romanis sed et urbs dudum vocitabor</i> | XXXIX.2 |
| <i>Inclita Romanis revehens ex hoste tropaea</i> | CdV 2097 |

See further Appendix 5.1 below.

¹⁴ Eusebius's *Enigmata* are ed. Glorie, CCSL 133, 209–71.

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whilst his verbal debt to Aldhelm is not in doubt.¹⁵ The traditional identification of Eusebius with Bede's friend Hwætberht, the abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, is insecure,¹⁶ and it has recently been suggested that Eusebius too was a Southumbrian by training.¹⁷

Bugga's Epitaph

Of more certain Southumbrian origin is the anonymous epitaph for Bugga, daughter of Centwine, the late seventh-century king of Wessex, which is preserved in a collection to be associated with Milred, bishop of Worcester in the latter half of the eighth century (745–75).¹⁸ Bugga had been responsible for building an unidentified church to St Mary in Wessex during the reign of Ine (688–726), which act Aldhelm celebrated in the most widely circulated of his *Carmina ecclesiastica* (CE III).¹⁹ The epitaph, which cannot be dated with any further accuracy,²⁰ reads as follows, with borrowings from Aldhelm indicated:

¹⁵ Glorie notes a number of parallels between the *Enigmata* of Eusebius and Aldhelm; I would add the following:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| [1] Fortis, et armigeri gestabar vertice tauri | XXX.2 |
| Serratas capitis gestans in vertice cristas | E XXVI.2 |
| [2] Non sumus aequales, quamvis ambaeque sorores | XLVIII.1 |
| Nos sumus aequales, communi sorte sorores | E LXVI.1 |
| [3] Nomen imago dedit servandum voce pelasga | LIII.10 |
| Romuleis scribor biblis, sed voce Pelasga | E XXXV.6 |
| [4] Et tamen immensas solus retinebo liburnas | LIV.2 |
| Et tamen immensas errantes fluctibus actos | E XCII.7 |
| [5] Inde meumque moram nomen dixere latini | LIV.6 |
| Nepa mihi nomen veteres dixere Latini | E XXXVII.1 |
| [6] Propter hoc opus infandum mihi nomen adhesit | LV.2 |
| Tempore de primo noctis mihi nomen adhaesit | E LVIII.1 |

See further Appendix 5.1 below.

¹⁶ VBOH I, xiv-xvi; Bolton, *History of Anglo-Latin*, pp. 219–23.

¹⁷ *Poetic Works*, pp. 66–7 and 245, n. 29.

¹⁸ See Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', p. 815; Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', pp. 21–2, and *Religion and Literature*, pp. 132 and 351.

¹⁹ *Poetic Works*, pp. 40–1.

²⁰ The tentative comments on dating in Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', p. 815 and *Poetic Works*, p. 41 are based on a mistaken identification, and must be discounted; see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 132; E. S. Duckett, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947), p. 67, n. 171.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Hic Christi verna corpus sub marmore iacet:
Supremus mundi concludit terminus isthic
 Quam famulam prisci vocant de nomine Buggae.
 Illius nam gregem sociavit denique Christo;
Plurima basilicis nutrit pignora puella. 5
 Artibus est multis edocens et semina serens,
 Sancta suffulta prorsus *virtute tonantis*.
 Ast hoc nam templum construxit arte perita,
 Qua nunc Christicolae *laudent simul ore tonantem*:
 Turba fratrum *geminis* adstant et *turba sororum* 10
Classibus, concinnent praeconia regi polorum.
Coentuuini haec etiam fuit en pia *filia regis*
Dapsilis et clemens, *Christi pro nomine* felix . . .
 Ter denis egregium servansque ovile decenter
 Quattuor et simul annos pia rite regebat.²¹ 15

The poet appears to have relied heavily on Aldhelm's *Carmen ecclesiasticum* III on Bugga's church, and to a lesser extent on his *Carmen de virginitate* and perhaps one other of the *Carmina ecclesiastica*. More importantly, there seems no further influence from any other poets whatsoever. This Southumbrian poet's concept of Latin poetry is, therefore, entirely dominated by Aldhelm, upon whose verse he (or she) is wholly dependent. Moreover the poet of Bugga's epitaph has used vocabulary which is entirely

²¹ Evidence:

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| [2] <i>Supremus numerum concludat</i> Thaddeus alium | CE IV.xii.1 |
| [5] <i>Plurima basilicis</i> impendens rura novellis | CE III.6 |
| <i>Plurima basilicae</i> sunt ornamenta recentis | CE III.69 |
| [7] <i>Claudum</i> restaurat fretus <i>virtute Tonantis</i> | CE IV.i.20 |
| <i>Diruat in mundo</i> fretus <i>virtute Tonantis</i> | CdV 315 |
| <i>Merserat in pontum</i> fretos <i>virtute Tonantis</i> | CdV 1098 |
| [9] <i>Qua nunc Christicolae</i> servant monastica iura | CE III.7 |
| <i>Fratres concordia laudemus</i> voce <i>Tonantem</i> | CE III.50 |
| [10] <i>Classibus</i> et <i>geminis</i> psalmorum concrepat odas | CE III.47 |
| <i>Cantibus</i> et crebris conclamet <i>turba sororem</i> | CE III.51 |
| [12] <i>Nobilis</i> erexit <i>Centuvini filia regis</i> | CE III.2 |
| [13] <i>Dum proprium</i> linquit <i>Christi pro nomine</i> regnum | CE III.9 |
| <i>Dapsilis</i> et tribuens cunctis solamina victus | CdV 2517 |
| [15] <i>Qui prius imperium Saxonum rite regebat</i> | CE III.3 |
- Cf. Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', p. 816.

consistent with that employed by Aldhelm, particularly in his *Carmen de virginitate*, and this again underlines the extent of Aldhelm's influence.²² There are prominent medial finite verbs (lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10), and alliteration, particularly at the end of lines (lines 5, 6 and 15). We are faced with a poet whose metrical methods are deliberately close to Aldhelm's own.

Yet as Lapidge notes: 'in spite of these verbal similarities, it is highly improbable that Aldhelm wrote Bugga's epitaph: the epitaph contains metrical howlers (e.g. *simul* 15) and grammatical solecisms (e.g. *ast hoc nam templum* 8) which Aldhelm would not have tolerated. And Aldhelm, who died in 709, had almost certainly predeceased Bugga.'²³ The prosody of this epitaph is, indeed, execrable, and entirely at variance with Aldhelm's normal practice.²⁴ The specific error *simul* (line 15) is particularly interesting, since the author clearly *could* scan the word correctly (see line 9), and it appears to have been a favourite 'filler' when adapting unpromising material. One might compare Aldhelm's original phrase *laudemus voce Tonantem* (CE III.50), which since the verb has been altered from the first person to the third person now appears as *laudant simul ore tonantem* (line 9). The use of such 'filler' words to pad out remembered and reworked phrases was common in Anglo-Latin verse, and was raised to something of an art form by Alcuin, who uses meaningless tags like *semper ubique* ('always and everywhere') at the end of his hexameter both *semper* and *ubique*;²⁵ here the author of the epitaph engages in further padding in the extraordinary phrase *ast hoc nam templum* (line 8), evidently preferring grammatical solecism to the shame of even more obvious extraneous

²² Of all the words in the epitaph only one (*serens* 6) is never found in Aldhelm's verse, whilst many of the rest of the words are used by Aldhelm in exactly the form given here.

²³ Lapidge, 'Some Remnants', pp. 816–17.

²⁴ So, for example, we find the following errors of metrical quantity, selected here since in most cases there are good counter-examples from Aldhelm: *iācet* (line 1; cf. *CdV* 661: *iācentis*); *vōcant* (line 3; cf. *CE* IV.i.12 and IV.xii.21; *E* VII.2, XXXIII.6 and LXXIX.4; *CdV* 185, 570, 726, 895, 1454 and 2281: *vōc-*); *ēdocens* (line 6; cf. *CdV* 713: *ēdocuit*); *dēnis* (line 14; cf. *E* XC.3; *CdV* 258, 793, 1447, 2479 and 2895: *dēn-*); *simul* (line 15; cf. *simul* universally in Aldhelm, noted on some fifty occasions).

²⁵ In the main corpus of Alcuin's hexameter poetry, *Alcuini Carmina*, ed. Dümmler, MGH, PLAC 1, 160–351, I count the word *semper* no less than 273 times, of which thirteen are in the combination *semper in aeternum*, and thirty-one in the combination *semper ubique*. The word *ubique* occurs ninety-five times in the same corpus of Alcuin's verse. By comparison, in a verse corpus less than half the size of Alcuin's, Aldhelm uses *semper* twenty-three times, *ubique* never.

material, since *ast simul hoc templum* both scans and makes marginally better sense. In other cases also, the prosody is flawed; I note difficulty in assessing quantity at the end of words, including mistakes of both position and accident. ²⁶ Almost the only words free from error are those which the poet has adopted from Aldhelm, and one wonders, for example, whether the lengthening of the final syllable of *suffulta* (line 7) is yet another example of the poet's ignorance, or whether the author is mimicking Aldhelm's common practice of lengthening short final vowels at will before following consonant combinations of mute and liquid (as here, *prorsus*). ²⁷

Metrically the poem relies heavily on spondees, and avoids the lighter dactylic rhythm where possible, very much after the fashion of Aldhelm's own work; in the variable first four feet of the fifteen lines of the poem there are only twenty-one dactyls, which gives a rate of 140 dactyls per one hundred lines, a figure only marginally greater than Aldhelm's own, as can be seen from the figures in Table A1 in Appendix 5.2 below. ²⁸

Table A1 considers the number of dactyls to be found in the first four feet of the hexameter verse. Since the fifth foot is almost invariably a dactyl in Anglo-Latin verse, and the sixth foot must be either a spondee or a trochee, in practice metrical variation in the Anglo-Latin hexameter can be measured in the first four feet. As Table A1 shows, Aldhelm is by far the most spondaic composer of Anglo-Latin authors analysed (only 136.98 dactyls per one hundred lines), closely followed by Boniface and Tatwine; Bede, by contrast, adopts a lighter dactylic rhythm more frequently, and in this is followed by most other Anglo-Latin poets. It is rather striking that the measurable difference between the figures for Tatwine (149.3 dactyls per one hundred lines) and the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (178.97 dactyls per one hundred lines) is the same as that between the *Miracula* and Bede (207 per one hundred lines), suggesting two clear groupings amongst Anglo-Latin authors. Apart from the figures for Wulfstan of Winchester, who was composing much later in the period than the other poets sampled, the authors may be divided on regional grounds, with Tatwine, Boniface

²⁶ Errors of position include *illius nam* (line 4); *construxit arte* (line 8); *classibus concinnent* (line 11); *simul annos* (line 15). Errors of accident include *regī* (line 11, dative singular) and *denīs* (line 14, ablative plural, though it is unclear why).

²⁷ See further above, pp. 75–7. The possibility that the final syllable of *suffulta* has been lengthened at the caesura (a common licence in later periods) would be relatively hard to parallel in Anglo-Latin verse of this age, and can best be discounted.

²⁸ See further below, p. 293.

and Aldhelm comprising the Southumbrian group, and Bede, Eusebius, Alcuin, Aediluulf and the anonymous author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* representing Northumbrian verse. This greater tendency towards dactylic verse in these later and Northumbrian authors may well reflect regional differences in teaching; other evidence for such a difference is considered below.

Bugga's epitaph contains only one example of elision in its fifteen lines, *Coentuuini haec* (line 12), exhibiting a distaste for the licence which is also characteristic of Aldhelm.²⁹ Figures for the use of elision in the Anglo-Latin authors analysed are given in Table A4 in Appendix 5.2 below, and again Aldhelm clearly occupies an extreme position with respect to later authors, although in this case the figures do not divide easily on regional grounds. The epitaph also includes a single example of hiatus (or failed elision), *servansque ovile* (line 14), a licence which is carefully avoided by other (and Northumbrian) poets such as Bede, Aediluulf and Alcuin.³⁰

Moreover the author of Bugga's epitaph makes free use of the ornamental device of alliteration, particularly at the end of lines, and even when not borrowing directly from Aldhelm, who is a master of alliterative display (lines 5, 6 and 15).³¹ These last two examples (*semina serens* and *rite regebat*) illustrate a particular form of alliteration in the final cadence of the hexameter to which Aldhelm was particularly partial; one might quote a large number of further examples of Aldhelm's use of such cadences, and their distribution in other Anglo-Latin poets is analysed in Table A5 in Appendix 5.2 below, where again the figures seem to divide on regional lines, with alliterative ornament of this kind far more frequent amongst Southumbrian authors.

It is still more intriguing to notice that the author of the epitaph clearly favours the placing of finite verbs immediately after the strong medial word-division or caesura (after two-and-a-half feet), as in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 8,

²⁹ Cf. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 216–17; see further above, pp. 79–83. It seems also possible, however, that *Coentuuini haec* is to be regarded as a further example of hiatus (for which see below), especially given the length of the medial vowel in the corresponding vernacular name-element *-wine*. In the distaste for elision which the author of this epitaph shares with Aldhelm is set in still sharper relief, and we must assume still further flawed prosody, with the final *-i* of the masculine genitive singular ending scanned here apparently short.

³⁰ On hiatus in Anglo-Latin verse, see further above, pp. 83–4.

³¹ On Aldhelm's fondness for the ornament of alliteration in his verse, see above, pp. 43–54, and 113.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

9 and 10, and that such a position is favoured even when the author is not directly borrowing from Aldhelm, for whom it is the normal pattern.³² Aldhelm particularly favours the use of finite verbs of three long syllables here (the metrical *molossus* form), as with *concludit* (line 2) and (with false quantity) *construxit* (line 8) here. Again, one might give further examples of Aldhelm's fondness for this pattern, and its distribution in Anglo-Latin hexameter verse is given in Table A6 in Appendix 5.2 below; one notes that once more the Southumbrians Aldhelm and (to a much lesser extent) Boniface occupy extreme positions. We are faced in Bugga's epitaph with a poet whose metrical methods are deliberately close to Aldhelm's own.

The poet of Bugga's epitaph has clearly borrowed not simply Aldhelm's words, but certain aspects of his compositional technique, including predominantly spondaic metrics, distaste for elision, strict caesura-patterning, fixed positioning of medial finite verbs and fondness for alliteration, particularly at the cadence. The whole Aldhelmian structure is overlaid with a distinctly un-Aldhelmian disregard for the niceties of scansion. One needs to turn to other Southumbrian authors to consider the extent to which the use of such characteristic techniques might reflect contemporary teaching in the schools.

Boniface

It has often been noted that Boniface was a keen student of Aldhelm's works, and imitated his style in prose and verse, both rhythmical and metrical.³³ The principal hexameter poems by Boniface which survive are a collection of twenty *Enigmata* which deal with ten virtues and ten vices.³⁴ The immediate debt of these verses to Aldhelm is clear both from the genre, since Aldhelm can be said to have reinvented the style and purpose of the Latin *enigma* for his English audience, and from the form, in which the 'solution' to each *enigma* is presented by Boniface in acrostic or telestich form; Aldhelm's role in the dissemination of such *jeux d'esprit* in Anglo-Saxon England has been stressed elsewhere.³⁵ The further extent of Aldhelm's influence on Boniface's verse-technique can be demonstrated by

³² See above, pp. 92–7.

³³ See above, pp. 61–3.

³⁴ Boniface's *Enigmata* are ed. F. Glorie, *Aenigmata Bonifatii*, in *Variae Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae Aetatis*, CCSL 133 (Turnhout, 1968), 273–343. On the dating of these poems, see *Poetic Works*, pp. 245–6.

³⁵ See, for example, *Poetic Works*, pp. 66–7, 248 and 257.

examining any single *enigma*. I have selected the fifth of the *Enigmata* dealing with the virtues, in which the solution ('Love') is given in acrostic form by *CARITAS AIT*, with the letters *SATIRAC* (*CARITAS* backwards) intertwined; Boniface's debts of poetic diction to Aldhelm are indicated:

<i>Cernere quis poterit, numero aut quis calculo aequat</i>	
<i>Splendida quae stolidis praestauti munera saeculis?</i>	
<i>A qua praesentis moderantur dogmata uitae</i>	
<i>Atque futura noui praestantur premia regni,</i>	
<i>Ritibus atque meis complentur iussa superna</i>	5
<i>Talibus humanum semper miserebor in aeuum</i>	
<i>Iuuauit mortale genus uirtutibus almis</i>	
<i>Imperiis domino superis famularier alto</i>	
<i>Tetrica mundani calcant ludicra luxus</i>	
<i>Regina clamor, caelorum filia regis</i>	10
<i>Ad requiem ut tendant animae, pulsabo tonantem</i>	
<i>Actus uel dicti sensus seu ut uincla resoluant</i>	
<i>Sedibus e superis soboles nempe architenentis</i>	
<i>Cuncta meis precibus restaurat saecula redemptor,</i>	
<i>Arbiter aethereus condit me calce carentem</i>	15
<i>In qua nec metas aevi nec tempora clausit</i>	
<i>Tempora sed mire sine tempore longa creauit.</i> ³⁶	

³⁶ I note the following parallels:

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|--|--------------------|
| [1] <i>Credere quis poterit tantis spectacula causis</i> | <i>E</i> LIV. 1 |
| <i>Quis numerus capiat vel quis laterculus aequat</i> | <i>E</i> LXXIII. 4 |
| <i>Quis modus aut numerus vel certe calculus index</i> | <i>CdV</i> 855 |
| [2] <i>Splendida formatis fudisset lumina saeculis</i> | <i>E</i> P. 24 |
| [3] <i>Ante praesentis quam nosset lumina uitae</i> | <i>CdV</i> 308 |
| [4] <i>Atque futurorum gestura est turba nepotum</i> | <i>CdV</i> 271 |
| <i>Atque futurarum rimantur somnia rerum</i> | <i>CdV</i> 595 |
| <i>Aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2005 |
| [5] <i>Prima praecepti complevi iussa parentis</i> | <i>E</i> LXIV. 3 |
| [6] <i>Usibus humanis seruiret rite per aeuum</i> | <i>E</i> LXIII. 1 |
| <i>Arbiter aeternum mihi iam miserescat in aeuum</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2876 |
| [8] <i>Possent ut iugiter domino familiarier alto</i> | <i>CdV</i> 759 |
| <i>Mallet et immunis regi famularier alto</i> | <i>CdV</i> 2072 |
| [9] <i>Mundani luxus calcans ludibria falsa</i> | <i>CdV</i> 99 |
| <i>Prima iuuentatis calcans ludicra severus</i> | <i>CdV</i> 806 |
| <i>Mellea carnalis contemnens ludicra luxus</i> | <i>CdV</i> 1713 |
| [10] <i>Nobilis erexit Centvini filia regis</i> | <i>CE</i> III. 2 |

The poetic art of Aldhelm

In this poem Boniface has drawn much of his verse diction from Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and *Carmen de virginitate*, together with a single imitation of just one of his *Carmina ecclesiastica*, that written to commemorate Bugga's church (CE III). Boniface's usage in this poem is entirely representative of his practice in the *Enigmata* as a whole; from the numerous parallels noted between Boniface's *Enigmata* and Aldhelm's verse in Appendix 5.1 below, there is no unambiguous evidence of Boniface drawing on any poems from outside this corpus.³⁷

That Aldhelm's verse diction has been borrowed wholesale is clear, but Boniface, like the author of Bugga's epitaph, seems to be imitating his model at other levels also. Boniface lacks Aldhelm's precision in matters of prosody, although he can certainly scan more successfully than the author of the epitaph; throughout his *Enigmata* Boniface exhibits several errors of prosody, of which one might indicate here the extraordinary form *iūvavi* (line 7; cf. *iūvabit* E C.5, *iūvat* CdV 140). It seems, however, significant that Boniface recognized that final vowels were *communes* before following initial consonant combinations of mute and liquid; one might compare here *regina clamor* (line 10). Such a licence is particularly characteristic of Aldhelm's verse (he uses it forty-three times), and was also employed by the author of Bugga's epitaph, as we have seen; Northumbrian poets, by contrast, do not employ the licence in any significant degree.³⁸

Boniface's metrics are also clearly indebted to Aldhelm, when they are clear at all. As it stands, for example, line 9 simply will not scan; by confecting three Aldhelmian phrases infelicitously Boniface has produced a

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|--|----------------|
| [11] Sed potius nitar precibus <i>pulsare</i> Tonantem | CdV 31 |
| Ad requiem tendens obtata sorte fruatur | CdV 2811 |
| [12] Actibus aut dictis seu solo noxia sensu | CdV 2826 |
| Ut mihi cum precibus peccati vincla resolvant | CdV 2871 |
| [13] Sedibus et superis florebant sorte beata | CdV 2745 |
| [14] Cum restaurat labentia saecula redemptor | CdV 2885 |
| [15] Arbiter, aethereo iugiter qui regmine sceptrā | E P. 1 |
| Haec tua semper erit leti calceque carebit | CdV 615 |
| Principio vel calce carens et temporis expers | CdV 2874 |
| [16] His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono | Vergil A 1 278 |

Cf. Glorie, CCSL 133, 291, and see further Appendix 5.2 below.

³⁷ See further above, pp. 61–3.

³⁸ So in Bugga's epitaph we find the production of metrically short final *-a* in this position in *suffulta prorsus* (line 7); see further above, p. 76.

line which is too short by a foot.³⁹ Emendation will produce a satisfactory verse, but it is surely worth asking whether such an editorial policy is justified. Hypermetric lines litter Anglo-Latin verse, sometimes in cases like this where the cut-and-paste technique of the author is clear, and one wonders whether flawed lines represent more closely what Boniface himself wrote.⁴⁰ By the same token one might consider line 1 of this *enigma*, where in altering Aldhelm's nominative forms *numerus* and *calculus* to ablative *numero* and *calculo* Boniface is forced to recognize in one and the same line examples of both elision (*numero aut*) and, apparently, hiatus (*calculo aequat*, with ablative *-ō* apparently short).⁴¹ In other metrical matters, Boniface follows Aldhelm closely, even in the question of his four most favoured patterns, whilst it is clear from Table A1 in Appendix 5.2 that Boniface uses dactyls only slightly more frequently than Aldhelm, and to an extent far less than the later and Northumbrian authors analysed.⁴²

Moreover a fondness for alliteration of exactly the kind favoured by Aldhelm (and the anonymous author of Bugga's epitaph) is evident in almost every line of Boniface's *enigma*, with two alliterating cadences so characteristic of Aldhelm's hexameters actually borrowed from the master (*ludicra luxus* and *calce carentem*). A medial finite verb bounded by strict caesura-patterning of the kind so prominent in Aldhelm's verse is found in

³⁹ This is the reading offered without comment by Glorie in his edition (CCSL 133, 291), based on one of the earliest manuscripts, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1553 (s. ixⁱⁿ).

⁴⁰ The position is somewhat obscured by the tendency of editors (and different scribes) to 'improve' faulty metrics; here one might compare Dümmler's earlier edition of this *enigma* of Boniface (MGH, PLAC 1, 4), preferring the reading *calcent ut* of several later manuscripts here. One might also wish to emend to *calcantur*, particularly given the parallel structure of lines 3–5, where we find *moderantur*, *praestantur* and *complentur* immediately before the final cadence, but again questions must be raised concerning the editorial assumptions and justification for such an emendation.

⁴¹ See too line 12 here, where in confecting a number of Aldhelmian phrases Boniface is forced to admit the elision of a monosyllable in *seu ut*. Comparable examples of similar elision of monosyllables in other Anglo-Latin verse are rare; see further Jaeger, *Bedas metrische Vita S. Cuthberti*, p. 20 (for Bede); Alcuin, ed. Godman, p. cviii (for Alcuin); and above, pp. 82–3.

⁴² One might also consider the distribution of metrical verse-types in Boniface's verse in Table A7 (a), where the heavy preponderance of spondees is apparent in his eight most favoured patterns; cf. Tables A2 and A3, where again the closeness of the figures for Boniface and Aldhelm is apparent. The figures from all these tables also make it clear that this particular poem is rather more dactylic than usual for Boniface.

no fewer than seven of the seventeen verses (lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 14 and 15), a proportion even greater than that found in Aldhelm's own verse. Boniface's figures in Tables A5 and A6 show that this poem is quite typical in those respects.⁴³

The extent of imitation is quite bewildering, and it seems fair to ask how successful a mimic of Aldhelm's verse style Boniface has become. Boniface has leant heavily on his single source, whilst Aldhelm tends to blend his own diction with fresh borrowings from his remembered reading.⁴⁴ It is surely significant that the single imitation of diction from outside Aldhelm's corpus should be from Vergil (scarcely a surprising choice), and in one of the few verses (line 16) free from Aldhelm's influence. Boniface is also rather more repetitious than Aldhelm, who would scarcely allow *praestauti . . . praestantur* (lines 2 and 4), *calcant . . . calce* (lines 9 and 15), *regina . . . regis* (line 10), and *tempora . . . tempora . . . tempore* (lines 15 and 16) in such close proximity, and never has three passive finite verbs with identical scansion in an identical metrical position in each of three consecutive verses (lines 3–5). Still more striking is Boniface's fondness for elision and (more particularly) hiatus, to an extent far greater than that found in Aldhelm. Elision in Boniface is roughly eight times as frequent as that found in Aldhelm, and Boniface's extreme tendency towards hiatus cannot easily be matched in any competent Latin poet extant.⁴⁵ It will be clear from the above that even those later poets who followed Aldhelm most closely were entirely unable to master every aspect of his technique.

It is interesting to consider that the Southumbrian verses of Boniface and the author of Bugga's epitaph share Aldhelm's fondness for predominantly spondaic metre, since just this feature is also found in the *Enigmata* of Tatwine.⁴⁶ It will be noted further that Tatwine, like Boniface and Aldhelm, but unlike any of the other Anglo-Latin hexameter poets

⁴³ See below, pp. 295–6; whilst the proportion of medial finite verbs of *molossus* form in this *enigma* is rather higher than for Boniface's *Enigmata* as a whole, it is clear that Boniface again matches most closely these aspects of Aldhelm's poetic technique.

⁴⁴ See further above, pp. 221–4.

⁴⁵ See Table A4 in Appendix 5.2 below. I count eighty-eight examples of elision in the 388 verses of Boniface's *Enigmata*, compared with only 160 examples in 4,170 verses of Aldhelm's corpus.

⁴⁶ One might consider, for example, Tatwine's figures in Table A1 in the Appendix 5.2 below, together with the distribution of metrical verse-types in Table A7 (b). Whilst less insistently spondaic than the verse of either Boniface or Aldhelm, the poetry of Tatwine is metrically distinct from that of later and Northumbrian authors.

analysed, strongly favours spondees in the third and fourth feet (such patterns constitute the four most popular patterns in each author, as can be seen from Tables A7 (a), (b) and (i) in Appendix 5.2).⁴⁷ This carries the implication that each author considered the hexameter to consist of a free initial metrical section of two to two-and-a-half feet, in other words up to the main caesura, but that after this caesura the metrical patterning of the verse was largely fixed.⁴⁸ By contrast Bede, Alcuin, Wulfstan, Eusebius and (to a lesser extent) Aediluulf and the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* avoid the frequent use of the heavily spondaic pattern SSSS. It seems possible, therefore, that the use of spondaic rhythm in particular configurations was a feature taught in Southumbrian schools.

It is still more intriguing to note, however, that when the percentage distribution of those four patterns which imply a fixed rhythm after the medial caesura (DSSS, DDSS, SDSS, SSSS) is considered, a remarkable and surely significant redistribution of poets and poems is found, indicated by Table A3 in Appendix 5.2. With the exception of Bede and Wulfstan, it seems that all Anglo-Latin poets relied on this fixed rhythm to a very great extent, and that this rhythm, used by Aldhelm in almost three-quarters of his lines, can be regarded as the staple rhythm of Anglo-Latin verse, occurring in about half the verses of most authors examined.⁴⁹ In the same way the distribution of dactyls in each of the first four feet may be significant, and is considered in Table A2: first-foot dactyls occur in at least sixty per cent of the verses of almost all Anglo-Latin authors analysed (the exception is Tatwine), and were clearly preferred, whilst second-foot dactyls are distinctly unpopular amongst the Southumbrian authors Aldhelm, Boniface and Tatwine. Again it seems possible that such differences in technique reflect significant regional differences in teaching methods.

⁴⁷ It is intriguing to consider the extraordinary similarity in the four most favoured patterns of each of these authors: so Tatwine has DSSS, SSSS, DDSS and SDSS; Boniface has DSSS, DDSS, SSSS and SDSS; Aldhelm has DSSS, DDSS, SDSS and SSSS. Most remarkable is the fact that in these four authors there is a particular preference for DSSS most of all, to be contrasted with the DDSS pattern which seems most favoured among Northumbrian poets.

⁴⁸ See the comments of Lapidge, *Poetic Works*, p. 22, who describes Aldhelm's technique of 'leaving the final four feet as a sort of fixed, invariable block' as 'rhythmically monotonous.'

⁴⁹ The exceptions are Wulfstan and Bede, who employ this particular combination of metrical patterns in only 29.4% and 35.2% of their verses respectively.

EIGHTH- AND NINTH-CENTURY NORTHUMBRIA

It has been suggested that the *Enigmata* of Eusebius share many metrical characteristics with the poetry of Aldhelm and Tatwine, and that they are metrically unlike that of Bede.⁵⁰ It has therefore been suspected that Eusebius might have been an otherwise unknown Southumbrian poet, and not therefore to be identified with the Northumbrian Hwætberht, the abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow whom Bede, in his commentary on Samuel, says took the name Eusebius.⁵¹ All the evidence presented here suggests, however, rather the reverse, and tends to align Eusebius more closely with Northumbrian verse, although not particularly with that of Bede.⁵² The matter deserves further investigation, but does highlight the difficulties of assessing Latin verse style objectively, and raises the important question of Bede's own characteristic techniques of hexameter verse composition, which are in many ways as idiosyncratic as those of Aldhelm. In order to assess the implications of the great gulf in their techniques of verse-composition, however, one needs to know how familiar Bede was with Aldhelm's Latin poetry, and whether therefore there was available a channel for potential influence.

Bede

The published evidence for Bede's first-hand knowledge of Aldhelm's Latin verse is not great, and rests on a handful of correspondences with Aldhelmian phraseology in Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* found by Manitius, Ehwald and Jaager.⁵³ In many cases however, the shared phrase in question could have come from other sources, and must be discounted.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Lapidge, 'The Present State of Anglo-Latin Studies', p. 52; *Poetic Works*, p. 245, n. 29.

⁵¹ Bede, *In primam partem Samuhelis*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), 212.

⁵² Consider, for example, in particular the figures for Eusebius given in Tables A1, A2, A3, A4 and A6 in Appendix 5.2 below. Tables A7 (c) and (d) demonstrate that the four most favoured metrical patterns in the poetry of Eusebius (DDSS, DSSS, DDSD and DSDS) match those found in Bede's verse closely (DDSS, DSSS, DSDS and DDSD), although Eusebius apparently strives to avoid the dactylic DDDD pattern, as Bede does not.

⁵³ Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', pp. 624–5; *Opera*, pp. 25, 32, 354, 359 and 398; Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, pp. 59, 61, 65, 78 and 96.

⁵⁴ So Ehwald points out that the cadence *limina pandit* (VC 266) echoes that in Aldhelm's verse (*E* LV.2; cf. *CdV* 571, 2821); Bede might equally, however, have drawn the phrase

If each of the alleged parallels between Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* (VC) and Aldhelm's verse is subjected to similar scrutiny, most can be dismissed as either too nebulous or inconclusive. Only the following four parallels remain (first noted by Jaager and Manitius, as indicated) to sustain the burden of proof that Bede did indeed read and imitate Aldhelm's verse:

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|-----|---|-------------|
| [1] | <i>Spernere delicias fuso qui sanguine suasit</i> | VC 20 |
| J | <i>Spernere dilicias et mundi linquere gazas</i> | CdV 761 |
| [2] | <i>Aurivagasque feri pompas contemnere saecli</i> | VC 42 |
| J | <i>Qui falsas mundi contemnunt pectore pompas</i> | CdV 116 |
| [3] | <i>Celsithronum didicit precibus pulsare tonantem</i> | VC 96 |
| M | <i>Sed potius nitar precibus pulsare Tonantem</i> | CdV 31 |
| | <i>Et famulas domini precibus pulsabo misellus</i> | CdV 2814 |
| [4] | <i>Quem, rogo, linquet ait regnet qui sceptrum gubernet</i> | VC 512 |
| M | <i>Credidit in Christum, caeli qui sceptrum gubernat</i> | CE IV.vi.19 |
| | <i>Credidit altithronum, caeli qui sceptrum gubernat</i> | CdV 1173 |
| | <i>Et regit imperium, mundi dum sceptrum gubernat</i> | CdV 1588 |
| | <i>Nam pater auguste regnorum sceptrum gubernans</i> | CdV 2059 |

Much other useful evidence that Bede borrowed phraseology from Aldhelm has, however, been overlooked, and one might cite, for example, the following dozen previously unnoticed parallels:⁵⁵

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|-----|--|--------|
| [1] | <i>Multa suis dominus fulgescere lumina saeculis</i> | VC 1 |
| | <i>Praescia venturis intendere lumina saeculis</i> | VC 503 |
| | <i>Splendida formatis fudisset lumina saeculis</i> | E P.24 |

from either Vergil (*Aeneid* VI.525) or (as *limina pandat*) Paulinus of Nola (*Carmen* XXXII.163), both authors whose work he knew well, and one of whom probably served as Aldhelm's own source. Likewise Jaager indicates that another of Bede's cadences, *anxia curis* (VC 501), is based on the same phrase from Aldhelm (CdV 2048), while exactly the same cadence is found in the work of both Juvenius (*Historia Evangeliorum* IV.307 – as Manitius has noted, 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda', p. 569) and Paulinus of Nola (*Carmen* IX.275; cf. XXVIII.286). See further Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* I, 108 and III, 199–200.

⁵⁵ With regard to parallel [6] given here, one might further note that the same rather striking phrase *navigero calle* also appears in one of Aldhelm's letters, that to Heahfrith (*Ep* v.490), and has been described by Herren, *Prose Works*, p. 201, n. 29, as 'possibly an attempt by Aldhelm to render an Old English kenning into Latin'. Parallel [10] is listed despite the use of the same cadence by Venantius Fortunatus, *Appendix Carminum* I.101 (see Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* III, 214), in a verse ('hoc quoque nulla tuis patefecit littera chartis') which was doubtless Aldhelm's own source; comparison of the

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[2]	Lactantumque sacer repleat si <i>viscera flatus</i> Nullus anhelanti procedit <i>viscere flatus</i>	VC 73 E LXXII.5
[3]	Divinis horam dum sacrat <i>laudibus almus</i> Digestis igitur sanctorum <i>laudibus almis</i>	VC 171 CdV 2446
[4]	At revoluta dies <i>noctis</i> cum <i>pelleret umbras</i> Ut furvas lumen <i>noctis depelleret umbras</i>	VC 237 E LVIII.7
[5]	Enituit <i>Christus caelorum gloria</i> terris Fruges deprompsit <i>caelorum gloria Christus</i> Deleat aeternus, <i>caelorum gloria, Christus</i>	VC 258 CdV 119 CdV 2824
[6]	<i>Navigero</i> patrium nos <i>calle</i> reducet ad arvom <i>Navigeros calles</i> ut pandam classibus index	VC 285 E XCII.4
[7]	Fratribus exemplo virtutis <i>pandere callem</i> Nec satis est unum per campos <i>pandere callem</i>	VC 378 E LIX.6
[8]	Ecfridus utque <i>tibi fratris</i> necatum <i>amore</i> Dum <i>tibi</i> perpetuo <i>fratris</i> copulamur <i>amore</i>	VC 517 CdV 722
[9]	<i>Perpetuis</i> at lucta beat perfecta <i>coronis</i> <i>Perpetuas</i> regni sumens ex carne <i>coronas</i>	VC 687 CdV 1767
[10]	Quam sacra divinis depinxit <i>littera chartis</i> Quos nunc sacratis describit <i>littera cartis</i>	VC 746 CdV 1627
[11]	Conpult et proprios consumere <i>morsibus artus</i> Diris ut rodant muliebres <i>morsibus artus</i>	VC 849 CdV 2000
[12]	Pandere nec laetis caeli <i>concentibus aures</i> Dulcibus antiphonae pulsent <i>concentibus aures</i>	VC 928 CE III.46

This evidence, combined with the remaining four parallels from earlier studies, suggests that in his metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* Bede knew and imitated Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*, a handful of his *Enigmata*, and the single *Carmen ecclesiasticum* on Bugga's church (CE III); evidence from others of Bede's metrical works, in particular his *Versus de die iudicii*, indicates that

complete verses makes it quite clear, however, that Bede was not imitating Fortunatus directly, but relied on Aldhelm as an intermediate source. In such ways has Aldhelm's direct influence on his Anglo-Latin poetic successors been underestimated by subsequent editors. See further Appendix 5.1 below, pp. 287–8.

this is a typical pattern of borrowing.⁵⁶ Moreover Aldhelm's influence seems to have extended to Bede's prose also; it is particularly intriguing to note that Bede seems to have leant on Aldhelm's *CE* III for his account of Cædwalla's death in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁵⁷ Still further evidence

⁵⁶ Bede's poem *Versus de die iudicii* (DDI) is ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 439–44. The sources of this poem are investigated by L. Whitbread, 'The Sources and Literary Qualities of Bede's Doomsday Verses', *ZDA* 95 (1966), 258–66, but Whitbread nowhere considers the possibility of Bede's literary debt to Aldhelm. I note, by contrast, the following possible parallels, augmented by still further examples in Appendix 5.1 below:

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|---|------------|
| [1] Inter florigeras <i>fecundi cespitis</i> herbas | DDI 1 |
| Sponte mea nascor <i>fecundo cespite</i> vernans | E LI. 1 |
| [2] Terra tremet <i>montesque</i> ruent <i>collesque</i> liquescent | DDI 51 |
| Et mundi moles <i>montes collesque</i> liquescant | CE IV.xi.8 |
| [3] Tristius et caelum <i>tenebris</i> obducitur <i>atris</i> | DDI 53 |
| Carceris et multo <i>tenebris</i> obscurior <i>atris</i> | E C.55 |
| [4] Ignis ubique suis ruptis <i>regnabit habenis</i> | DDI 73 |
| Et laxis ardor fornacis <i>regnat habenis</i> | E LXXX.3 |
| [5] Ignea tunc sonitus perfundet <i>flamma feroces</i> | DDI 75 |
| Extemplo nexus combussit <i>flamma feroces</i> | CdV 382 |
| [6] <i>Luxuriae</i> stimulus te tuae agitabis acutis | DDI 89 |
| <i>Luxuriae</i> stimulus caeco et correptus amore | CdV 2226 |
| [7] Fetor praeingenti <i>complet</i> putredine <i>nares</i> | DDI 103 |
| Sed tamen insontum <i>complentur</i> nectare <i>nares</i> | CdV 1401 |
| [8] Et uermes <i>lacerant</i> ignitis <i>dentibus</i> ossa | DDI 105 |
| Improba sic <i>lacerant</i> maternas <i>dente</i> papillas | E I.3 |
| [9] <i>Candida virgineo</i> simul inter agmina <i>flore</i> | DDI 147 |
| <i>Candida virgineis</i> florebat femina sertis | CdV 1878 |

Whilst some of these correspondences are not particularly strong, the combined effect seems striking. See further Appendix 5.1 below.

⁵⁷ So we might compare Bede's 'Caedwalla . . . relicto imperio . . . et in albis adhuc positus, languore correptus . . . solutus a carne, et beatorum est regno sociatus in caelis' (*HE* V.7) with Aldhelm's 'Rex Caedvalla, potens regni possessor et heres/ sed mox imperium sceptrumque *relinquens* . . . / post *albas* igitur morbo *correptus* egrescit . . . / alta supernorum conquirens *regna* polorum' (*CE* III.19–31). See Lapidge's cautious comments, *Poetic Works*, p. 235, n. 20, where he suggests in the light of the obvious similarities in their accounts that 'the simplest hypothesis may be that Bede and Aldhelm shared a common written source, now lost'. In the light of the extensive evidence of Bede's first-hand acquaintance with Aldhelm's verse in general and this poem in particular, however, it is simpler still to assume that Bede borrowed directly from Aldhelm's account.

strongly indicates that the verse epitaph of Archbishop Theodore which Bede quotes in part in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (HE V.8) may actually be Aldhelm's own work.⁵⁸

Bede's evident familiarity with Aldhelm's verse sheds considerable light on his own idiosyncratic metrical technique, much of which seems almost deliberately contrived to contrast with that of his predecessor. So, for example, in his *De arte metrica* Bede goes to some lengths explicitly to forbid the use of a particular licence of prosody which sanctioned the lengthening of short final vowels before initial consonant combinations of mute and liquid, and reproaches the grammarian Sergius, who had approved its use.⁵⁹ When one realizes, however, that just this licence occurs fairly frequently in Aldhelm's verse (I count some forty-three occurrences), and that exactly those poets most indebted to Aldhelm (for example Boniface and the author of Bugga's epitaph) employ the licence most often, Bede's criticism seems particularly pointed.⁶⁰ Moreover there is evidence to suggest that the licence was taught at the school in Canterbury, and that Aldhelm may have acquired the technique there.⁶¹

In other respects also Bede's metrical techniques seem the antithesis of Aldhelm's own, as the series of tables in Appendix 5.2 below conclusively demonstrates. Aldhelm is the most spondaic Anglo-Latin author analysed, Bede the most dactylic (Table A1). Aldhelm employs his four most favoured metrical patterns in almost three-quarters of his lines, Bede in less than half; again each author occupies sharply contrasting positions with respect to other Anglo-Latin poets (Tables A3, A7 (d) and (i)). Bede employs elision almost seven times as frequently as Aldhelm, and takes care, as Aldhelm does not, to avoid hiatus (Table A4). Bede, by contrast, eschews Aldhelm's favoured ornament of alliteration, particularly in the final cadence of the hexameter; alliterating cadences are three times as frequent in Aldhelm's verse as in that of Bede (Table A5).

⁵⁸ See further below, pp. 277–80.

⁵⁹ Bede, *De arte metrica*, in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Kendall, p. 88.

⁶⁰ See further my 'The Poetic Art of Aldhelm', p. 80, n. 15; examples from Boniface and Bugga's epitaph are cited above.

⁶¹ The license is also found in the acrostic Sibylline verses (ed. Bulst, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung', pp. 105–6) translated from Greek by a student of the Canterbury school. See too B. Bischoff, 'Die lateinische Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen aus den Oracula Sibyllina', in his *Mitteralterliche Studien* I, 150–71, at 154–5; *Poetic Works*, p. 16. On Aldhelm's knowledge of these verses, see further above, pp. 195–200.

Now a further characteristic of Aldhelm's method of composition is his tendency to repeat his own phraseology verbatim in the same metrical position in a number of lines.⁶² Bede, by contrast, seems almost perversely determined not to repeat himself, pursuing his search for synonyms and altered word-order even to the extent of grammatical untidiness; a few examples will suffice:

- | | |
|---|--------|
| [1] Absolvar donec vinclis et <i>carcere carnis</i> | VC 535 |
| <i>Carnis</i> ego tenear solus sub <i>carcere</i> clausus | VC 645 |
| [2] Haec comes ut vidit <i>perculsus corda pavore</i> | VC 235 |
| Liquit et attonito vibratur <i>corda timore</i> | VC 663 |
| Dixerat et trepido <i>perculsus corda tremore</i> | VC 929 |
| [3] <i>Obsecrans siccare genas, deponere luctus</i> | VC 61 |
| <i>Exorat siccare genas, deponere fletus</i> | VC 651 |

Example [1] seems to indicate the extraordinary lengths to which Bede would go to avoid repeating himself; having already used the phrase *carcere carnis* earlier in his metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, Bede substitutes the metrically identical and alliteratively equivalent word *clausus* for *carnis*, which is moved to the beginning of the line. There seems no conceivable reason why Bede should make this change except to avoid repetition; the mutual substitution of *carnis* and *clausus* in the later verse would indeed make a much smoother line, bringing the participle closer to its associated pronoun, and the genitive noun closer to its referent. As we have already seen, Aldhelm had no such qualms about repetition, and makes changes only for semantic or metrical reasons.⁶³ In example [2] we see Bede rather desperately ringing the changes by the use of the metrically and semantically equivalent terms *pavore*, *timore* and *tremore* in a way hard to parallel in Latin poetry of any period; again in similar circumstances Aldhelm does not trouble to alter his words.⁶⁴ Example [3] shows further how Bede will

⁶² Cf. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', pp. 225–8; *Poetic Works*, pp. 23–4.

⁶³ So, for example, we find verses like the following:

<i>Truserat in tenebras conclusi carceris atras</i>	CdV 1140
<i>Truditur in tenebras laturus carceris atras</i>	CdV 1230
<i>Tunc simul in latebras truduntur carceris atras</i>	CdV 1398

⁶⁴ So, for example, we find the following verses:

<i>Scintillante fide dum fervent corda virorum</i>	CdV 387
<i>Quamvis stultorum torpescant corda virorum</i>	CdV 1441

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use metrically equivalent synonyms to avoid the wholesale repetition of complete lines, here substituting the metrical synonyms *exorat* and *fletus* for *obsecrans* and *luctus*; Aldhelm, by contrast, repeats himself on a far greater scale, and changes words only for semantic reasons.⁶⁵

If we refer back to the dozen examples of Bede's use of Aldhelm's own verse cited above we see several examples of the same kind of substitution of synonyms in Bede, effectively masking his source. Number [10] provides perhaps the clearest example, and reads as follows:

Quam sacra divinis depinxit *littera chartis* VC 746

Quos nunc sacratis describit *littera cartis* CdV 1627

Here Bede has substituted *divinis* for Aldhelm's *sacratis* and *depinxit* for *describit*, as well as substituting the (unnecessary?) adjective *sacra* for Aldhelm's neutral *nunc*, thereby incidentally providing the more dactylic rhythm which Bede clearly favoured. The extent to which Bede indulges in such synonym-substitution is worth further investigation since it largely obscures his reliance on the borrowed phraseology of previous poets, and gives what I suggest is the false impression that Bede relies less on the words of his predecessors than other Anglo-Latin authors.

Miracula Nynie episcopi

Bede was to become, after Aldhelm, by far the most influential Anglo-Latin poet. His technique of synonym-substitution in adapting his sources was one which was eagerly adopted by later poets, and may be said to be his most important individual contribution to Anglo-Latin poetic technique. In terms of direct influence, however, Bede was to prove far less important than Aldhelm, and verbatim repetition remained the most popular form of imitation and homage by successive series of Anglo-Latin poets. We can see this illustrated, for example, in the anonymous cut-and-paste pastiche

Atque saginantur sanctorum *corda virorum* CdV 2035

Horrendum incussere metum per *corda virorum* CdV 2614

⁶⁵ As, for example, in the following lines:

(a) *Magna supernarum meruit spectacula rerum* CE IV.ii.8

Magna futurarum meruit spectacula rerum CdV 656

(b) *Dum crucis in patulo suspensus stipite martyr* CE IV.iii.14

Dum crucis in patulo suspensus stipite poenas CdV 452

(c) *Claruit idcirco celebri rumore per orbem* CdV 899

Claruit idcirco celebri rumore coruscans CdV 1517

now known as the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (MNE).⁶⁶ One might quote the following passage, almost entirely confected from a combination of verses from both Aldhelm and Bede:

*Idola colentes turparunt mortis in umbra,
Quos ille ad Christum vertit pietate magistra;
Cuncti certatim merguntur gurgite sancto,
Flagitium sceleris purgabunt fonte perenni.
Sic namque ore pio seminavit germina vitae, 70
Iam late per populos auxit lucranda talenta,
Plurima basilicis construxit rura novellis,
Quae nunc eximio monachorum examine pollent,
Vere Christicolae servant monastica iura.
Ultima sic docuit terrarum dogmate regna, 75
Praemia capturus, cum terrae sponte deiscunt
Atque omnes surgunt Christo veniente per orbem.⁶⁷*

⁶⁶ The *Miracula Nynie episcopi* is ed. K. Strecker, MGH, PLAC 4.3 (Berlin, 1923), 943–61. See too K. Strecker, 'Zu den Quellen für das Leben des Heiligen Ninian', *Neues Archiv* 43 (1920–2), 1–26; W. Levison, 'An Eighth-Century Poem on St Ninian', *Antiquity* 14 (1940), 280–91; and the translation by W. W. MacQueen, 'Miracula Nynie episcopi', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 4th ser. 38 (1959–60), 21–57. Constantinescu, 'Alcuin et les "Libelli Precum"', p. 56, attributes the work to Pechelm of Whithorn, but without supporting evidence.

⁶⁷ I note the following parallels:

- | | | |
|------|---|---------------|
| [66] | Qui dudum tetra torpebant mortis in umbra | CE IV.viii.5 |
| | Idola quae dudum decepta fraude colebat | CE IV.viii.13 |
| | Idola quae coluit paganis dedita sacris | CE IV.ix.3 |
| [67] | Quatenus ad Christum convertat dogmate plures | CdV 82 |
| [68] | Omnes certatim merguntur gurgite sancto | CE IV.viii.10 |
| [69] | Flagitium sceleris purgantes fonte lavacri | CE IV.viii.11 |
| [71] | Late per populos illustria, qua nitidus sol | E P.19 |
| [72] | Plurima basilicis impendens rura novellis | CE III.6 |
| [73] | Eximio iam tunc monachorum examine pollens | VC 98 |
| [74] | Qua nunc Christicolae servant monastica iura | CE III.7 |
| [75] | Sic felix Asiae convertit dogmate regnum | CE IV.viii.16 |
| | Coetus qui docuit gentiles dogma supernum | CE IV.xi.3 |
| [76] | Praemia sumpturum, cum tellus sponte debiscet | CE IV.vi.24 |
| [77] | Omnia de priscis et surgent corpora tumbis | CE IX.vi.25 |

A number of these correspondences are also noted by Strecker, MGH, PLAC 4.3, 947. See further Appendix 5.1 below.

As can be seen from the evidence cited, verse 73 relies on a line from Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, whilst the other verses draw on a number of lines from a range of Aldhelmian poems, particularly in this case on several of the *Carmina ecclesiastica*. The relative frequency with which Bede and Aldhelm are used as source accurately reflects their relative importance as influences on later Anglo-Latin verse; it may be significant that in lines 73–4 the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* has expanded a single verse from Aldhelm into two by inserting part of a line from Bede, and adding the filler word *vere* in line 74 to make up for the Aldhelmian *quae nunc* displaced to the previous verse. Verses 66 and 75 are each developed from a combination of several of Aldhelm's lines, whilst others of the verses are composed by simple alteration of single lines from Aldhelm.⁶⁸ Many of the changes made are just the kind of substitution of synonyms we have already seen: so in verse 68 the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* has made the simple substitution of the metrically and syntactically identical form *cuncti* for Aldhelm's *omnes* and in verse 76 the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* has replaced *terrae* with Aldhelm's *tellus*, as well as substituting Aldhelm's future participle form *sumpturum* for the equivalent *capturus*.

Other changes made are quite minor, for example the replacement of *fonte perenni* with Aldhelm's *fonte lavacri* in verse 69 or the similar substitution of the medial molossus verb-form *construxit* for Aldhelm's equivalent *impendens* in verse 72; it is surely more than chance that amongst Anglo-Latin poets the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* shows a much greater than average fondness for medial verbs of just this form, as Table A6 in Appendix 5.2 demonstrates.

Moreover, as with some of the earlier Anglo-Latin poets considered here, many of the errors of syntax and scansion found in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (and there are many) occur when the author departs too far from his source. So here in verse 71 the author displaces Aldhelm's *lātē per populos* and introduces an error of prosody in *lātē*; the properly placed phrase (and the correct scansion) is found in no less than three further verses in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*.⁶⁹ Again, one notes that in combining Aldhelmian phrases in verse 66 the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* mistakes the quantity of the first syllable of *colentes* (here long). The cut-and-paste technique of the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, relying overwhelmingly on phrases drawn from Aldhelm's works, is perhaps closer to that

⁶⁸ Cf. here lines 68, 69, 72, 73 and 76.

⁶⁹ MNE 10, 98 and 155; cf. MNE 16 and 280.

exhibited by Boniface and the author of the epitaph on Bugga than has been realized to date. In matters metrical the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* likewise often seems closer to Southumbrian poets than other authors analysed, as the tables in Appendix 5.2 demonstrate.

Unlike the Southumbrian poets analysed, however, the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* does not rely on Aldhelm to the exclusion of other sources; Strecker notes borrowings from Juvenius, Sedulius, Paulinus of Nola, Cyprianus Gallus, Prudentius, Fortunatus, Dracontius, Vergil and Ovid, in addition to Aldhelm and Bede.⁷⁰ It is important to note, however, that these more exotic authors are imitated rather infrequently, and that indeed many of the phrases which Strecker would assign to Juvenius or Sedulius or whoever can equally and perhaps more plausibly be assigned to Aldhelm, who had read and used them all.⁷¹ Aldhelm's verse remains the base upon which the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* built, and it is true to say that the further the author builds from that base, the more rickety his structure appears. Other Anglo-Latin poets seem to have built on that same base too.

Aediluulf

Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* (DA) celebrates the history of a monastic house founded during the reign of King Osred of Northumbria (704–16), and is dedicated to Bishop Ecgberht of Lindisfarne (803–21); it has been inferred that the house in question was a dependent *cella* (the term is Aediluulf's) of Lindisfarne.⁷² On occasion Aediluulf borrowed phrases from Juvenius, Sedulius, Arator, Paulinus of Nola, Prosper of Aquitaine, Fortunatus and Cyprianus Gallus, as well as from Vergil, Statius and Lucan.⁷³ Of Anglo-Latin poets and poems, it is clear that Aediluulf was familiar with Aldhelm, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* and Alcuin; indeed Lapidge has recently argued that Aediluulf's links with Alcuin were particularly

⁷⁰ On the author's apparently extensive reading, see Lapidge, 'The Present State of Anglo-Latin Studies', p. 75.

⁷¹ See, for example, Strecker's own notes to *MNE* 6, 272, 352 and 420. The full extent of the borrowing from Aldhelm is made clear in Appendix 5.1 below.

⁷² Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* is ed. Campbell, *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*. See too D. R. Howlett, 'The Provenance, Date, and Structure of the *De abbatibus*', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 3 (1975), 121–30; Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the School of York'. On the spelling of Aediluulf's name, see Lapidge, *ibid.*, p. 161, n. 2.

⁷³ Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the School of York', p. 169.

strong, and would associate his work with that of the school of York.⁷⁴ It is interesting to consider that such a conclusion is strongly supported by the various technical aspects of composition considered here, and which are summarized in the tables in Appendix 5.2. So in terms of dactylic rhythm Aediluulf sits neatly between Alcuin and the author of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (Tables A1–A3), and again demonstrates a very comparable distaste for elision (Table A4), and tendency towards alliteration in the final cadence (Table A5). In short, there are features to connect the verse of Aediluulf and Alcuin beyond their shared diction.

Of the seven phrases which Lapidge indicates were borrowed by Aediluulf from the *Carmina* of Alcuin (C), and which are said to occur in no earlier poet, one might quote the following three parallels:⁷⁵

- | | |
|--|------------|
| [1] <i>Actibus et uerbis</i> nolito assuescere prauis | C LXVII.68 |
| L <i>Actibus et uerbis</i> et cunctis sensibus almi | DA 191 |
| [2] <i>Ara dicata</i> tibi micat haec, baptista Iohannes | C XC.x.1 |
| L <i>Ara dicata</i> Deo mittebat munera summo | DA 736 |
| [3] <i>Iudiciis iusti, humilis pietate modesta</i> | C X.14 |
| L <i>Pastor ouile bonus</i> sumpsit <i>pietate modesta</i> | DA 552 |

In each case, however, it seems likely that Aediluulf has supplemented his borrowing from Alcuin by recourse to the diction of earlier verse, here probably that of Aldhelm. With respect to these three correspondences, for example, I note the following parallels:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| [1] <i>Actibus et uerbis</i> et cunctis <i>sensibus</i> almi | DA 191 |
| <i>Actibus</i> aut <i>dictis</i> seu sola noxia <i>sensu</i> | CdV 2826 |
| [2] <i>Pastor ouile</i> bonus sumpsit <i>pietate modesta</i> | DA 552 |
| <i>Pastor ouile</i> tuens, ne possit rabula raptor | CdV P.19 |
| [3] <i>Ara dicata</i> Deo mittebat munera summo | DA 736 |
| <i>Virgo dicata</i> Deo florebat tempore prisco | CdV 1975 |

In examples like this the subtlety of Aediluulf's cut-and-paste technique becomes apparent.

In any case, the extent to which Aediluulf drew on Aldhelm's works has been grossly under-represented by earlier commentators. Aldhelm's poetry, and particularly the third of his *Carmina ecclesiastica* (on Bugga's church), still emerges as the single most important source for the *De*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.167–78.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

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abbatibus.⁷⁶ The true extent of Aldhelm's influence may well be still more striking; I count perhaps 150 of Aediluulf's 819 verses which exhibit parallels with Aldhelmian phraseology. One might cite, for example, the following thirty-nine previously unnoticed parallels, supplemented still further in Appendix 5.1 below:⁷⁷

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| [1] Si quid in his cartis te dignum <i>reddere grates</i> | DA 25 |
| Nocte dieque simul non cesso <i>reddere grates</i> | DA 157 |
| Laudantes dominum coeperunt <i>reddere grates</i> | CdV 591 |
| Ast olli Christo coeperunt <i>reddere grates</i> | CdV 1603 |
| [2] Subcurvare animo, contempnens <i>iura tonantis</i> | DA 42 |
| Spiritus in vobis habitat iam <i>iure Tonantis</i> | CdV 151 |
| [3] Armipotens nimium, <i>propriis in viribus audax</i> | DA 43 |
| Ut dominum <i>propriis</i> aequaret <i>viribus audax</i> | CdV 2740 |
| [4] Rectori magno, moderat <i>qui secula cuncta</i> | DA 64 |
| Arce poli, genitor, servas <i>qui saecula cuncta</i> | E P.35 |
| [5] Pectore, subque sui sumpsit <i>penetralia cordis</i> | DA 105 |
| Non notis, pavido fervent <i>penetralia cordis</i> | DA 325 |
| Mentio dum sancti pulsant <i>penetralia cordis</i> | CdV 1620 |
| [6] Poscens ut monachos firmaret <i>rite libellis</i> | DA 116 |
| Quod binis constat descriptum <i>rite libellis</i> | CE IV.i.5 |
| [7] Confirmat dictis, quin sacro <i>munere ditat</i> | DA 121 |
| Hanc Deus ubertim caelesti <i>munere ditat</i> | CdV 2026 |
| [8] Pectore quin vitam casto <i>servare memento</i> | DA 126 |
| Sed tamen hanc sociam sanctam <i>servare memento</i> | CdV 1281 |
| [9] Collis non magnus declivo <i>tramite flexus</i> | DA 132 |
| Per caelum gradiens obliquo <i>tramite flector</i> | E LXXXI.3 |
| Nec ratibus pontum sulcabam <i>tramite flexo</i> | E XCII.6 |

⁷⁶ *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, ed. Campbell, p. xlv.

⁷⁷ There are partial correspondences with the work of other poets with respect to some of these parallels, but in each case the Aldhelmian parallel is more extensive, more likely or more precise. One might note, for example, the following:

[3]: cf. *viribus audax* in Vergil, *Aeneid* V.67; Boniface, *Enigmata* IX.15

[5]: cf. *cordis penetralia* in Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 542; Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata* LI.5

[12]: cf. *actus . . . dicti sensus* in Boniface, *Enigmata* V.12

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- | | | |
|------|---|----------------------------------|
| [10] | <i>Hanc aedem domini</i> ; medio sub aggere mensam
<i>Hanc aedem Domini</i> de summo servat Olimpo | DA 146
CE IV.vii.3 |
| [11] | Premites statuit: <i>caelestis gratia</i> terris
In qua fundavit <i>caelestis gratia</i> mentem | DA 148
CdV 1981 |
| [12] | <i>Actibus</i> et <i>verbis</i> et cunctis <i>sensibus</i> almi
<i>Actibus</i> aut <i>dictis</i> seu sola noxia <i>sensu</i> | DA 191
CdV 2826 |
| [13] | <i>Ignibus in mediis</i> ingentia frigora vitat
<i>Ignibus in mediis</i> vivens non sentio flammās | DA 196
E XV.1 |
| [14] | <i>Noctibus in furvis</i> tempus sapienter et horas
<i>Noctibus in furvis</i> , fratrum pausante caterva
<i>Noctibus in furvis</i> caecos lustrabo latebras | DA 198
2DA1 553
E LXV.2 |
| [15] | Ast alius miseris <i>tribuens solamina</i> panis
Dapsilis et <i>tribuens</i> cunctis <i>solamina</i> victus | DA 200
CdV 2517 |
| [16] | Cumque diu corpus mordebant <i>viscera terrae</i>
Frigidus ex gelido prolatus <i>viscere terrae</i> | DA 227
E XXVII.1 |
| [17] | Terga veranda nitent; <i>modulantes carmina</i> rostris
Raucisonis numquam <i>modulabor carmina</i> rostris | DA 237
E XXII.2 |
| [18] | Continuo exsurgens firmatus <i>robore tanto</i>
Quae res in terris armatur <i>robore tanto</i> | DA 259
E XCIII.1 |
| [19] | Irrita vota gerens, copulam <i>coniungere nuptus</i>
Ad prolem generis satagunt <i>coniungere nuptis</i> | DA 365
CdV 2360 |
| [20] | Cumque suis medicans frater <i>cataplasma salutis</i>
Afferro compertum medicans <i>cataplasma salutis</i> | DA 391
E XLVII.8 |
| [21] | Tempore tum plenus <i>linquit consortia carnis</i>
Lurida <i>linquentes</i> spurcae <i>consortia carnis</i> | DA 397
CdV 94 |
| [22] | Omnes ast sancti medii <i>pavimenta sacelli</i>
Ac <i>genibus flexis tundit pavimenta sacelli</i>
<i>Poplitibus flexis tundens pavimenta sacelli</i> | DA 441
DA 564
CE IV.vii.10 |

[18]: cf. *robora tantae* in Juvencus, *Historia evangeliorum* III.191

[21]: cf. *consortia carnis* in *Miracula Nynie episcopi* 423

See further Appendix 5.1 below.

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	Ut <i>genibus flexis</i> et curvo poplite plebes	CdV 375
	Ut <i>genibus flexis</i> et curvo poplite patrem	CdV 1513
[23]	<i>Argentique nitens constat fabricatus</i> maclis	DA 450
	Ac lata <i>argento constat fabricata</i> patena	CE III.74
[24]	Quem dedit ille pius magnae <i>genetricis</i> ad <i>aulam</i>	DA 451
	Hac celebratur honor sacrae <i>genetricis</i> in <i>aula</i>	CE II.4
[25]	Ast lector melos <i>voce articulata resultans</i>	DA 499
	Ymnistae crebro <i>vox articulata resultet</i>	CE III.48
[26]	Atque domum <i>quatians clamoso carmine</i> complet	DA 506
	Et celsum <i>quatiat clamoso carmine</i> culmen	CE III.49
[27]	Spiritus atque pios carnis <i>fraudatus ocellis</i>	DA 520
	Nonne magum merito geminis <i>fraudavit ocellis</i>	CE IV.ii.16
[28]	Ingreditur felix, <i>letatus sorte superna</i>	DA 578
	Caelicolis iunctus <i>laetatur sorte superna</i>	CE III.16
[29]	Isque deo deditus cum <i>tota mente fidelis</i>	DA 584
	Ac dominum <i>tota conversus mente fidelis</i>	CdV 1864
[30]	Atque deo studeant condignam <i>condere laudem</i>	DA 599
	Porro Caeciliae vivacem <i>condere laudem</i>	CdV 1710
[31]	<i>Et reciproca</i> suo <i>modulantur carmina</i> regi	DA 615
	<i>Et reciproca</i> Deo <i>modulemur carmina</i> Christo	CE III.43
[32]	Cantibus in crebris <i>comunt</i> et <i>voce sacellum</i>	DA 617
	Unusquisque novum <i>comat</i> cum <i>voce sacellum</i>	CE III.57
[33]	<i>Limpida</i> prenitido <i>diffundit lumina templo</i>	DA 622
	<i>Limpida</i> quadrato <i>diffundens lumina templo</i>	CE III.68
[34]	Sic tremulas vibrant <i>subter testudine templi</i>	DA 626
	Congrua promamus <i>subter testudine templi</i>	CE III.53
[35]	<i>Aureus</i> ille <i>calix</i> , tetigi quem carmine dudum	DA 649
	<i>Aureus</i> atque <i>calix</i> gemmis fulgescit opertus	CE III.72
[36]	Ast domus interior, nimis <i>candore coruscans</i>	DA 712
	Flammeus aspectu, niveo <i>candore coruscus</i>	CdV 2369

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|------|--|--------------|
| [37] | Hostibus adversis pavidum <i>servare memento</i> | DA 731 |
| | Sed tamen hanc sociam sanctam <i>servare memento</i> | CdV 1281 |
| [38] | Membra dicata sui tenuit sub <i>viscere ventris</i> | DA 741 |
| | Ecce larem, laticem quoque gesto in <i>viscere ventris</i> | E LIV.3 |
| [39] | <i>De quibus altithrono spirabant tura</i> tonanti | DA 762 |
| | <i>De quibus ambrosia spirabunt tura</i> Sabaea | CE III.81 |
| | <i>E quibus altithrono conversus credidit orbis</i> | CE IV.xiii.2 |

These parallels indicate that Aediluulf's remembered reading spanned the whole range of Aldhelm's metrical verse; some verses are almost wholly confected from Aldhelmian diction (for example parallels [22] and [39]). In other cases, for example parallels [31] and [33], Aediluulf in departing from his model has substituted metrical equivalents for Aldhelm's words in very much the manner we have already considered. More striking still is the way in which the borrowed phrases tend to be restricted by caesura-patterning; in nine cases cited here the final cadence alone has been lifted.⁷⁸ This again suggests that Aldhelm's work was sufficiently well studied in Anglo-Saxon schools in ninth-century Northumbria to have been read, remembered and re-used more frequently than that of any other author in the canon.

THE TENTH CENTURY

Given the large number of extant manuscripts of Aldhelm's works from tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England and his enormous influence on contemporary Anglo-Latin prose style, it is disappointing to consider the published evidence to date of Aldhelm's influence on the composition of verse.⁷⁹ The two most prolific Anglo-Latin poets from the period were Frithegod of Canterbury and Wulfstan of Winchester, yet in an edition containing the longest single poems of each author, Campbell notes for

⁷⁸ Correspondences [1], [2], [6], [7], [9], [16], [18], [31] and [39]; cf. correspondences [10], [13] and [14], where the whole phrase up to the main medial caesura has been borrowed.

⁷⁹ On manuscripts of Aldhelm's work in late Anglo-Saxon England, see above, p. 239. Aldhelm's influence on tenth-century Anglo-Latin is considered in general by Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', esp. pp. 73–5; 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey', p. 113; *Poetic Works*, p. 4; D. A. Bullough, 'The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*', *SettSpol* 19 (1972), 453–94, at 466–73. In each case the focus is on the influence of Aldhelm's *prose* style.

each only a tiny number of alleged borrowings from Aldhelm. From the 1,396 hexameters of Frithegod's *Breuiiloquium Vitae Beati Monachi Wilfredi* Campbell notes fifteen potential parallels with Aldhelm's poetry, all from *CdV*, whilst Wulfstan, in his *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, which runs to 3,382 lines and is the longest Anglo-Latin poem extant, apparently had recourse to Aldhelm's verse on only five occasions.⁸⁰ A more recent edition of Wulfstan's *Breuiiloquium de omnibus sanctis* is similarly sparse in its indications of any poetic debt to Aldhelm.⁸¹

Frithegod

Frithegod's *Breuiiloquium uitae Wilfridi* was commissioned by Archbishop Oda to celebrate Canterbury's 'acquisition' of the relics of St Wilfrid after the destruction in 948 of the minster church at Ripon where they had been housed. Since the work closes with a dedication to Oda, who died in 958, we can date the poem with confidence to the decade 948 x 958.⁸² Lapidge would identify Frithegod with the Frankish scholar Fredegaut of Brioude, and considers him the author of a further poem of sixteen six-line octosyllabic stanzas describing the twelve jewels of Revelation after the manner of Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis*.⁸³ Both Frithegod's octosyllables and his hexameters are characterized by the ornate vocabulary of the hermeneutic style, including grecisms and archaisms; the *Breuiiloquium* has been described as 'without doubt the most difficult Anglo-Latin text'.⁸⁴ Lapidge points out that a proportion of the hermeneutic vocabulary found in the *Breuiiloquium* is also found in Aldhelm's works, and this alone might be sufficient to indicate influence.⁸⁵ But it is important to stress that

⁸⁰ For the parallels with Frithegod's *Breuiiloquium*, see Campbell's notes on lines 4, 13, 43, 72, 108, 226, 279, 473, 578, 593, 612, 787, 989, 1145 and 1343; Wulfstan's parallels are considered in detail below.

⁸¹ F. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiiloquium de Omnibus Sanctis*: Un poème inconnu de Wulfstan chantre de Winchester', *AB* 106 (1988), 35–98; indications of possible Aldhelmian influence are given by Dolbeau in notes on lines 32, 129, 141 and 654.

⁸² Lapidge, 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England', pp. 45–6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 and 64–5; the poem has been edited several times, most recently (with accompanying translation) by P. Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works', *ASE* 12 (1983), 73–123, at 109–23.

⁸⁴ Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 78.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Aldhelm's vocabulary differs greatly in his prose and verse; of nineteen words from the *Breuiiloquium* listed by Lapidge as being of Greek or archaic origin, and which he indicates are also found in the writings of Aldhelm, nine never occur in Aldhelm's verse, six are found in both prose and verse, and only two in verse alone.⁸⁶ Whilst demonstrating once again the all-pervasive influence of Aldhelm's prose style in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, such evidence demonstrates little concerning first-hand knowledge of his hexameter verse. Campbell's fifteen parallels do indicate some acquaintance with Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*, but no great desire for imitation. It is, moreover, difficult to supplement Campbell's tally; I offer a further eight previously unnoticed parallels, as follows:⁸⁷

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|---|----------|
| [1] Sensit Vuilfridus fama super ardua notus | 22 |
| Gregorius felix fama super aethera notus | CdV 712 |
| [2] Praesensit quippe praecordia casta iuventae | 111 |
| Virginis intemerata videns praecordia castae | CdV 1682 |
| Infula quam nitidae comebat casta iuventae | CdV 2123 |
| [3] Sero quidem rediit, uerum tria lustra peregit | 172 |
| Hic octena simul conversans lustra peregit | CdV 1510 |
| [4] Sed non aequatis appendit lancibus aequi | 262 |
| Uncia bis senis quam pensat lancibus aequa | CdV 206 |
| [5] Manubiis farti regis uenere manipuli | 547 |
| Ecce catervatim densis uenere manipulis | CdV 1609 |
| [6] Infit, et infestos iussit remeare sodales | 678 |
| Ad proprios iterum iussit remeare lacertos | CdV 869 |
| [7] Nam quaecumque sacris nectebant uincula membris | 893 |
| Ferrea quem strictis nectebant vincla catenis | CdV 1481 |
| [8] Et quia pellacis uitasti gaudia saeculi | 1260 |
| Lubrica fallentis conculcans gaudia saeculi | CdV 946 |

All these correspondences again indicate knowledge of the *Carmen de*

⁸⁶ From Lapidge's list of hermeneutic vocabulary common to Aldhelm and Frithgod I have traced the following in Aldhelm's prose alone: *agon*, *aliorum*, *anathema*, *apocripa*, *displodo*, *ethnicus*, *olimpia*, *organicus* and *orgia*; in both Aldhelm's prose and verse: *cauma*, *exanthlo*, *extasis*, *gramma*, *oroma*, *scamma*, *scisma* and *stemma*; in Aldhelm's verse alone: *biblus* and *stigma*.

⁸⁷ See further Appendix 5.1 below, pp. 291–2.

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virginitate alone; I have found no good parallels pointing to any acquaintance with the *Enigmata* or *Carmina ecclesiastica* whatsoever. It seems that Frithegod had read at least the longest of Aldhelm's verse works, which he imitated sparingly, but generally employed other more exotic models (including Aldhelm's own prose) for his highly idiosyncratic poetic diction.

Wulfstan of Winchester

The verses of Wulfstan of Winchester, moreover, show how towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period Aldhelm's shadow over subsequent Anglo-Latin poetic composition had diminished, although he still remained the single most important influence.⁸⁸ In many ways appreciation of Aldhelm's importance has been hampered by his very success; so much of Aldhelm's diction was adopted wholesale by subsequent authors that it is often hard to distinguish genuine borrowing from what had, by the tenth century, passed into Anglo-Latin poetic commonplace. So in his edition of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (NM), including the introductory *Epistola specialis* (ES), Campbell lists only the following four examples of Aldhelm's diction allegedly borrowed by Wulfstan:

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|-----|---|----------|
| [1] | Rursus ut amissae repetat <i>primordia uitae</i> | ES 420 |
| C | Curuus erat, quem prima suae <i>primordia uitae</i> | NM I.200 |
| | Olim sumpserunt ex me <i>primordia vitae</i> | E XXIX.5 |
| | Corpore de spurco sumit <i>primordia vitae</i> | CdV 176 |
| [2] | Factorique suo considerare <i>culmine caeli</i> | ES 534 |
| C | Pendula dum patuli vertuntur <i>culmina caeli</i> | E C.3 |
| | Lucida stelligeri qui conditis <i>culmina caeli</i> | CdV 2 |
| | Lucida stelligeri scandentes <i>culmina caeli</i> | CdV 1445 |
| | Limpida stelligeri scandentes <i>culmina caeli</i> | CdV 2816 |
| [3] | Ad tumulum sancti, lacrimis <i>pulsatque tonantem</i> | NM I.898 |
| C | Sed potius nitar precibus <i>pulsare Tonantem</i> | CdV 31 |
| | Quatenus hoc spatio <i>pulsaret voce Tonantem</i> | CdV 1271 |
| | Tum fixis genibus <i>pulsabat voce Tonantem</i> | CdV 1524 |

⁸⁸ The metrical verse of Wulfstan of Winchester is ed. A. Campbell, in *Frithegodi Breuiloquium et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica*, pp. 63–177. This edition is, however, defective in a number of respects (see further below); a new edition is in preparation by Michael Lapidge.

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|-----|--|-------------|
| [4] | Lumine uibranti rutilum <i>conscendit</i> <i>Olimpum</i> | NM I.1386 |
| C | Exin sidereum Christus <i>conscendit</i> <i>Olimpum</i> | CE IV.xii.7 |

However, two of the phrases in question can be found elsewhere in the works of other authors whom Wulfstan can be shown to have known, leaving only correspondences [3] and [4] (neither very striking) to provide evidence of Wulfstan's borrowing from Aldhelm in the course of nearly 3,500 verses.⁸⁹

There exist several hundred parallels of diction between Wulfstan and Aldhelm, many of which, unfortunately, are subject to the same objections as Campbell's tally. Of more promising evidence of direct borrowing one might cite, for example, the following twenty-one previously unnoticed parallels, supplemented still further in Appendix 5.1 below:⁹⁰

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------|
| [1] | Flatibus alternis spiracula maxima reddunt | ES 145 |
| | Flatibus alternis vescor cum fratre gemello | E XI.1 |
| [2] | Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum | ES 173 |
| | Insuper excelsum forti compage sacellum | CdV 1324 |
| [3] | Qui <i>prestante deo</i> soluitque ligamina mundo | ES 251 |
| | Sed <i>prestante Deo</i> caecatur corde malignus | CdV 2236 |

⁸⁹ So *primordia vitae* is found in Juvenecus, *Historia evangeliorum* II.202, an author Wulfstan certainly knew (cf. Campbell's notes in his edition, pp. 80, 103 and 161); the phrases *culmin(e) caeli* and *puls(atque) tonantem* are still more commonplace (cf. Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* I, 512 and IV, 406–7).

⁹⁰ There are partial correspondences with the work of other poets with respect to some of these parallels, but in each case the Aldhelmian parallel is more extensive, more likely, or more precise. One might note, for example, the following:

[3]: cf. *praestante Deo* (in different metrical position) in Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 618

[5]: cf. *ferratas acies* in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* V.48; Arator, *Epistola ad Florianum* 21

[9]: cf. *lunaeque meatus* in Lucan, *Bellum civile* IX.6

[19]: *stirpe parentum* is a commonplace (see Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexikon* V, 271), but in this case the structure and sense of Wulfstan's verse seems most closely modelled on Aldhelm's own. With regard to parallel [15], it is interesting to record that the phrase *toto mentis conamine*, clearly borrowed from Aldhelm's *toto conamine mentis* (CdV 89), is also found in another Winchester poem of the same period as Wulfstan's; cf. Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems', p. 136 (*Carmen de libero arbitrio* 171). Part of the problem in detecting meaningful parallels between later verse and Aldhelm's work lies in the very extent to which Aldhelm's words passed into poetic commonplace; for a discussion of the Anglo-Latin poetic koine, see further Campbell, 'Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse', pp. 4–5.

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|---|--------------------------------------|
| [4] <i>Credidit in Christum</i> , pars impia soeuit et illi
<i>Credidit in Christum</i> , caeli qui sceptra gubernat | ES 493
CE IV.vi. 19 |
| [5] <i>Ferratas acies et quae strauere feroces</i>
<i>Ferratas acies et denso milite turmas</i> | ES 522
E XCVI. 1 |
| [6] <i>Aurea caelestis dignanter munera lucris</i>
<i>Aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni</i> | ES 564
CdV 2005 |
| [7] Undique bissemi comptus <i>uelamine pepli</i>
Lanea villosi spreuit <i>velamina pepli</i>
Serica purpureis praebens <i>velamina peplis</i> | NM I.10
CE IV.vii. 11
CdV 1146 |
| [8] <i>Tempore nocturnas</i> celebrant quo concine <i>laudes</i>
<i>Tempore nocturno</i> caelesti <i>laude</i> beavit | NM I.105
CdV 681 |
| [9] Caelorum, Phoebique rotam, <i>lunaeque meatum</i>
Alta poli solisque iubar <i>lunaeque meatus</i> | NM I.392
E IV.4 |
| [10] Translatus micuit toto <i>mirandus in orbe</i>
Sum namque excellens specie, <i>mirandus in orbe</i> | NM I.430
E XIV. 1 |
| [11] <i>Aurea perpetui</i> conscendit <i>praemia regni</i>
<i>Aurea caelestis</i> largitur <i>praemia regni</i>
Martira <i>perpetui</i> dum <i>scandit</i> limina caeli | NM I.489
CdV 2005
CdV 2008 |
| [12] In qua <i>sanctus</i> erat requiescens <i>corpore tumbam</i>
Ignibus opposuit <i>sanctam</i> cum <i>corpore tumbam</i> | NM I.668
CdV 1776 |
| [13] Procedunt ambae <i>niveo candore</i> cohortes
Flammeus aspectu, <i>niveo candore</i> coruscus | NM I.944
CdV 2369 |
| [14] Tempore continuo <i>lacrimis non cessat amaris</i>
Eustochium <i>lacrimis</i> virgo <i>non sensit amaris</i> | NM I.1178
CdV 2134 |
| [15] Qualicumque tamen poterat <i>conamine mentis</i>
Et praecepta Dei toto <i>conamine mentis</i> | NM I.1252
CdV 89 |
| [16] Nonne dei zelum <i>caecata mente</i> laccessunt
Quamvis hunc stolidi <i>caecata mente</i> ligarent | NM I.1370
CdV 1198 |
| [17] <i>Uertitur interea</i> caelum, et mox mane corusco
<i>Vertitur interea</i> : mutato nomine sanctus | NM II.99
CdV 484 |
| [18] <i>Cernuus ad terram</i> contacto corpore totus
<i>Cernuus ad terram</i> confractis ossibus ambro | NM II.775
CE IV.i.31 |

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| [19] | Edita nobilium clara de <i>stirpe parentum</i>
Inclita haec fuerat generosa <i>stirpe parentum</i> | NM II.821
<i>CdV</i> 2173 |
| [20] | Percipiesque citam laetanti <i>corde medelam</i>
Spiritus et carnis sumpserunt <i>corde medelam</i> | NM II.1097
<i>CdV</i> 1449 |
| [21] | Corde redemptorem <i>laudemus</i> et ore <i>tonantem</i>
Fratres concordi <i>laudemus</i> voce <i>Tonantem</i> | NM II.1168
<i>CE</i> III.50 |

What is striking here is that the manner of Wulfstan's use of Aldhelm is (like that of other, Northumbrian authors) rather similar to that of Bede; Wulfstan appears to distance himself from his source by employing synonyms. So in parallel [2] Aldhelm has *sacellum*, Wulfstan *templum*; in parallel [6] Aldhelm has *praemia*, Wulfstan *munera*; in parallel [21] Aldhelm has *voce*, Wulfstan has *et ore*, thereby providing (as with Bede earlier) the more dactylic rhythm with which he is associated. Sometimes the substitution seems more complicated: in parallel [18] Aldhelm has *confractis ossibus*, Wulfstan by some kind of aural association *contacto corpore* (and compare Aldhelm's *corde* with Wulfstan's *concordi* in parallel [21]); the fact of the borrowing seems clear. But in other ways Wulfstan is the Anglo-Latin poet who stands furthest from Aldhelm, in style, as in time. Wulfstan's verse is dactylic, and he avoids many of the most characteristic features of Aldhelm's verse, such as alliteration in the final cadence, and medial finite verbs. In many ways, then, Wulfstan's methods are the antithesis of Aldhelm's own, and with Wulfstan and the tenth century we reach the limits of Aldhelm's influence.

OTHER VERSES

Finally one might consider the following verses, preserved in a single manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. lat. 1354 (s. xi/xii), fol. 58, between the *capitula* and the text of Bede's *De arte metrica*:

Bæda dei famulus facundo fame fretus
Ædidit hos libros sacro spiramine plenus
Dulcisonis cantis metrorum carmina pipans
Arbiter immenso quem ditat munere IHC.
Largifluis libris praeatus fulsit in orbe
Ex quis ornatus foecunda britannia splendet
Claraque perpetuae pandens misteria uitae

5

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Taliter inuitans ad caeli regni phalangas
Omnibus hic sanctum digessit dogma salutis
Restaurans animo fretus caelestibus armis. 10
Quinque sacrae clauēs dicunt perstare sophiae:
Quarum prima frequens studium nescita legendi
Altera quae religis memori committere menti
Tertia quae nescis per crebra rogatio rerum
Quarta est uerus honor sincero corde magistri 15
Quinta iubet mundi uarias contemnere gazas
His te si dederis poteris perfectus haberi.⁹¹

This is an unremarkable poem, or rather pair of poems, since there seems no necessary link between the first ten acrostic verses (reading *BÆDA LECTOR*), and the last seven, which concern the common medieval theme of the Five Keys of Wisdom, and are preserved separately in two further manuscripts.⁹² The notion that there are two unrelated poems here is underscored dramatically when poetic borrowings from Aldhelm are highlighted:

Bæda dei famulus *facundo fame fretus*
Ædedit hos libros sacro spiramine plenus
Dulcisonis cantis metrorum carmina pipans
Arbiter immenso quem ditat munere IHC.
Largifluis libris praefatus *fulsit in orbe* 5
Ex quis ornatus foecunda britannia splendet
Claraque perpetuae pandens misteria uitae
Taliter inuitans ad caeli regni phalangas
Omnibus hic sanctum digessit dogma salutis
Restaurans animo fretus caelestibus armis. 10
Quinque sacrae clauēs dicunt perstare sophiae:
Quarum prima frequens studium nescita legendi
Altera quae religis memori committere menti
Tertia quae nescis per crebra rogatio rerum
Quarta est uerus honor sincero corde magistri 15

⁹¹ Ed. Jones, CCSL 123A, p. 71.

⁹² On the Five Keys of Wisdom, see, for example, R. Avesani, 'Leggesi che cinque sono le chiavi della sapienza', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 7 (1965), 62–73; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 334–5. The poem on the Five Keys of Wisdom is also ed. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 512. On the integrity of the verses on the Five Keys of Wisdom, see further ICL, no. 13621, and the references given there.

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Quinta iubet mundi uarias contemnere gazas
His te si dederis poteris perfectus haberi.⁹³

The ten acrostic verses on Bede, preserved in the context of Bede's own metrical treatise, are clearly little more than Aldhelmian pastiche; in fact as it stands line 8 will not scan and is difficult to construe, but may be emended to *ad caeli regna phalanges* after the Aldhelmian model. The anonymous poet of these acrostic verses seems to have been acquainted with the whole range of Aldhelm's metrical poetry, and to have followed his

⁹³ I note the following parallels:

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|---|--------------|
| [1] Qui nobis unum <i>facundo</i> famine biblum | CE IV.xii.10 |
| Quis vero studeat <i>facundo</i> famine fretus | CdV 684 |
| Haec falerata fuit <i>facundis</i> freta loquelis | CdV 1166 |
| [2] Quemque profeta Dei <i>sacro spiramine</i> plenus | CE IV.x.16 |
| Titan quem clamant <i>sacro spiramine</i> vates | CdV P.25 |
| Edidit affatim <i>sacro spiramine</i> plenus | CdV 396 |
| [3] Limpida dictanti <i>metrorum carmina</i> praesul | E P.6 |
| Garrula quae rostris resonantes cantica <i>pipant</i> | CdV 15 |
| [4] Quem pius aethrali <i>ditavit</i> gratia Christus | CE IV.viii.2 |
| Arbiter, <i>immensum</i> primo dum pangeret orbem | E LXXI.2 |
| Munere quem duplo <i>ditavit</i> spiritus almus | CdV 287 |
| Quem Deus aethrali <i>ditavit</i> gratia gratis | CdV 526 |
| Hanc Deus ubertim caelesti <i>munere</i> ditat | CdV 2026 |
| [5] Tempore quo clarus <i>fulsit</i> regnator in orbe | CdV 539 |
| [6] Ex quibus ornatur praesentis machina mundi | E C.78 |
| Quos gerit in gremio <i>fecunda</i> Britannia cives | CdV 878 |
| [7] Mire portendit <i>pandens</i> misteria rerum | CE IV.x.6 |
| Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> qui <i>pandit</i> limina vitae | CdV 571 |
| Cui Silvester ait <i>pandens</i> misteria rerum | CdV 631 |
| Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> mercantes munera vitae | CdV 752 |
| Clancula virginea <i>pandens</i> misteria clave | CdV 837 |
| Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> visuros praemia vitae | CdV 1226 |
| Pulchraque <i>perpetuae</i> penetrantem limina vitae | CdV 1503 |
| Dicta retexebat <i>pandens</i> misteria rerum | CdV 1630 |
| [8] Ruricolos mutans <i>ad caeli regna</i> falanges | CdV 83 |
| Plures perducens <i>ad caeli regna</i> falanges | CdV 676 |
| [9] Omnibus hic geminum <i>digessit</i> dogma per orbem | CE IV.i.4 |
| Matheus egregium describens <i>dogma</i> salutis | CE IV.x.1 |
| [10] Denique non trepidat <i>fretus caelestibus</i> armis | CdV 361 |
| Quapropter cunctos <i>fretus caelestibus</i> armis | CdV 572 |

model in other ways also. There is no elision at all, and plentiful alliteration both in borrowed phrases (*facundo famine, sacro spiramine, perpetuae pandens*, and *digessit dogma*) and elsewhere (*famulus facundo, largifluus libris*, and *praefatus fulsit*); such stylistic features are, as we have seen, the hallmark of Aldhelm's poetic technique. The copious use of Aldhelm's verse suggests a date before the tenth century, and the poet's use of the compound adjectives *dulcisonus* and *largifluus* points the same way.⁹⁴ But, as with the close imitations of Aldhelm's poetic style to be found in Bugga's epitaph or in the verses by Boniface examined above, there are certain licences and vocabulary in this work which Aldhelm himself would never have sanctioned. The parallel phrases *dulcisonis cantis* and *largifluus libris* seem particularly at odds with Aldhelmian usage; the former is ungrammatical, while the latter involves a compound adjective unparalleled in Aldhelm's verse.⁹⁵ Given the anonymous author's twin reverence for the verse diction of Aldhelm and the poetic treatise of Bede, one is tempted to consider this acrostic poem as a perfect pattern for so much later Anglo-Latin verse, composed in Aldhelmian manner on Bedan matter.

Theodore's Epitaph

Bede notes the death in 690 of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (*HE* V.8), whose close links with Aldhelm are well attested, notwithstanding Bede's curious silence on the matter, and have been discussed in detail elsewhere.⁹⁶ Bede rather inexplicably (given the length of the other epitaphs quoted, and in particular the fifty-four lines of his own composition on Æthelthryth) quotes only from the beginning and end of Theodore's epitaph, which is introduced in the following manner: 'Cuius personam, uitam, aetatem, et obitum, epitaphium quoque monumenti ipsius uersibus heroicis XXX et IIII palam ac lucide cunctis illo aduenien-

⁹⁴ Such compounds were particularly popular in eighth- and ninth-century verse, both in England and on the Continent. See further *Alcuin*, ed. Godman, p. ci. Dümmler, for example, *MGH, PLAC* 1, 648–50, provides a list of the following further compound adjectives in *-fluus* and *-sonus*: *aequisonus, albifluus, almisonus, aurisonus, caelifluus, doctisonus, dulcifluus, fumifluus, imbrifluus, laborifluus, lentifluus, lucifluus, mellifluus, mellisonus, bostrifluus, piscifluus, pomifluus, rorifluus, rosifluus, salsifluus, splendifluus, suauisonus* and *tumultifluus*.

⁹⁵ Cf. Aldhelm's *cantibus* *CE* III.51; *E* P.10; *CdV* 68 and 1304.

⁹⁶ See above, pp. 2–5.

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tibus pandit.⁹⁷ The eight lines cited by Bede are as follows:

Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore praesul,	1
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga uocat.	2
Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos	3
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit . . .	4
Namque diem nonam decimam September habebat,	31
Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur.	32
Alma nouae scandens felix consortia uitae,	33
Ciuiibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli.	34

Michael Lapidge was the first to point out that this poem 'bears the imprint of Aldhelmian diction', and he has tentatively suggested that the author might even be Aldhelm himself.⁹⁸ He notes a number of verbal parallels between this epitaph and Aldhelm's own acknowledged verse, and concludes that: 'Aldhelm had known Theodore, and was an accomplished occasional poet, as may be seen from his *Carmina ecclesiastica*; but without further evidence it is not possible to press Aldhelm's claims for authorship of the epitaph.'⁹⁹ Whilst it is difficult to imagine what kind of 'further evidence' would settle the attribution to the satisfaction of all scholars, it is nevertheless worth recording that the case for Aldhelm's authorship is far stronger than supposed. 'Aldhelmian' phrases in the poem can be signalled as follows:

Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore praesul,	1
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga uocat.	2
Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos	3
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit . . .	4
Namque diem nonam decimam September habebat,	31
Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur.	32
Alma nouae scandens felix consortia uitae,	33
Ciuiibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli. ¹⁰⁰	34

⁹⁷ 'His character, life, age, and death are openly and clearly described to all those who come there, by the epitaph on his tomb, consisting of thirty-four heroic verses', *VBOH* II, 282-3.

⁹⁸ *Poetic Works*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Evidence:

[1] <i>Pausat in Effeso praefatus corpore praesul</i>	<i>CE</i> IV.v.17
<i>Quamlibet in tumba pausarent ossa sepulcri</i>	<i>CdV</i> 1769
[2] <i>Indidit ex cornu nomen mihi lingua Pelasga</i>	<i>E</i> LX.10
(cf. <i>Romuleis scribor biblis, sed voce Pelasga</i>)	<i>E</i> XXXV.6)

Lapidge further notes the similarity of diction between *ciuibus angelicis* (line 34) and *coetibus angelicis* (CE IV.ii.36; cf. CdV 1070). In truth, the diction of the epitaph is 'Aldhelmian' throughout; compare *claustra . . . egreditur* (line 32) with *egreditur . . . gurgustia* (CdV 2241), or *ciuibus angelicis iunctus* (line 34) with *caelicolis iunctus* (CE III. 16) and *iunctus apostolicis* (CE V. 13).

Yet even this level of Aldhelmian diction is not uncommon in Anglo-Latin poems from the seventh and eighth centuries, as we have seen. In every other case, however, there are flaws of prosody or differences in usage of syntax or vocabulary which distinguish Aldhelm's imitators from the master himself. But the more closely the style and diction of this epitaph on Theodore is examined, however, the more 'Aldhelmian' it seems. It is striking to note that of the forty-six extant words of the epitaph only three (*Theodorum*, *nonam* and *September*) are without parallel in Aldhelm's poetic corpus. These exceptions are hardly surprising; more interesting is the fact that the remaining words can in the main be paralleled in exactly the form in which they here appear in the epitaph. There are only three exceptions to this (*decimam*, *habebat* and *pontificum*), and in each case a metrically equivalent form with a different inflection can be found. As a contemporary control I have similarly compared the vocabulary of the epitaph with that from Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, *De die iudicii* and *Hymn to Æthelthryth*. In this case some eleven words are unparalleled in Bede's verse, and eight occur in other often metrically dissimilar forms. Clearly the composer of the epitaph shares Aldhelm's verse vocabulary to a high degree.

Moreover, it has already been noted that Aldhelm displays a propensity in his poetry to confine the placing of his words to only a few of the

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| [4] | <i>Limpida discipulus scripsit scolasticus astu</i> | CdV 1264 |
| | <i>Discipulis Domini, sacrum qui dogma supernum</i> | CE V.3 |
| [33] | <i>Constantina novae praebens spectacula vitae</i> | CdV 2052 |
| | <i>Haec calcat pedibus spurcae consortia vitae</i> | CdV 155 |
| | <i>Ut tecum maneant nostrae consortia vitae</i> | CdV 729 |
| | <i>Dulcia mundanae sprexit consortia vitae</i> | CdV 1980 |
| | <i>Tunc ambae servant castae consortia vitae</i> | CdV 2378 |
| [34] | <i>Iungitur angelicis dum casta sponte manipulis</i> | CdV 186 |
| | <i>Angelicis iuncti penetrabant coetibus altum</i> | CdV 1070 |
| | <i>Arce poli, genitor, servas qui saecula cuncta</i> | E P.35 |
| | <i>Arce poli gradimur nec non sub Tartara terrae</i> | E VIII.3 |
| | <i>Vergilias numeris sequans in arce polorum</i> | E LIII.7 |

theoretically possible places in the verse line, given the metrical restrictions of the form.¹⁰¹ Careful comparison with the concordance demonstrates that not only the form but the metrical placing of the words from the epitaph can in many cases be exactly paralleled in Aldhelm's extant verse works. It is this aspect of the similarity in style between Aldhelm's acknowledged verse and this epitaph that is particularly striking; even Boniface, perhaps Aldhelm's most assiduous imitator, was unable to match his master's methods of word-placement. As for the prosody of the epitaph, there is nothing of the sort of errors of scansion which mar other extant Anglo-Latin verses clearly modelled on Aldhelmian phraseology.¹⁰² Moreover there is even an example of the kind of metrical license which Aldhelm permitted himself. The poet of the epitaph has allowed a lengthening of *-a* before *sp-* (*claustrā spiritus* 32) of just the sort which Aldhelm employs throughout his verse (cf. *ambrosiā spirabunt* CE III.81; *rigidā species* E XXVII.5; *totā spatiosis* E XLVIII.2; *formosā species* CdV 229; *gypsā spiris* CdV 1431; *spissā spurcis* CdV 2500). It is further intriguing to consider that in the eight lines of the epitaph there is no elision at all; in accord with Aldhelm's normal practice. By comparison the figures for elision in the other poems in the *Historia ecclesiastica* are as follows: in the poem on Gregory (HE II. 1), eleven elisions in sixteen lines (= 68.75%), in the poem on Æthelthryth (HE IV. 18), seventeen elisions in fifty-four lines (= 31.48%); in the poem on Cædwalla (HE V.7), three elisions in twenty-four lines (= 12.5%); in the poem on Wilfrid (HE V. 19), twelve elisions in twenty lines (= 60%). One might further compare the figures from other Anglo-Latin poets.¹⁰³ A further stylistic feature shared by Aldhelm and the author of this epitaph is a fondness for alliteration. Even in this short extract from the epitaph we find the phrases *pausat cum corpore praesul*, *princeps pontificum*, *summusque sacerdos*, *discipulis dogmata disseruit* and *cum carnis claustra*. Again, comparison with the other verses in the *Historia ecclesiastica* is instructive. There, alliteration, when it occurs, is always far less obtrusive, and almost incidental. On the basis of all this evidence, I would suggest that Bede has preserved in this epitaph the only extant example of Aldhelm's elegiac verse, a fitting tribute to his former teacher at Canterbury, where he learnt his metrical art.

¹⁰¹ See above, pp. 98–102.

¹⁰² Cf. the discussions of the prosody of Bugga's epitaph, Boniface, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* and Aediluulf above, pp. 245–8.

¹⁰³ See above, pp. 80–1.

CONCLUSION

Aldhelm holds a unique position in the history of Anglo-Saxon poetry. No other figure was so influential for so long, and there was none to match either the range or power of his verse. It is unclear whether Aldhelm is to be credited with the invention of the particular brand of octosyllabic rhythmical verse which he did so much to popularize, but not only did his become the dominant form of rhythmical Latin verse composition in Anglo-Saxon England, but every poet who wrote after Aldhelm was to some extent working in his shadow. Aldhelm was a pioneer of Latin metrical verse also, and here the extent of his influence across three centuries is staggering. One might almost assert that Aldhelm invented Anglo-Latin poetic diction single-handed. He was certainly the best-read man of his time with respect to Latin verse, and it is hard to think of any figure in the history of the Latin hexameter who appears to have had such a capacious memory for the works of his predecessors, both secular and Christian. Other poets shared his ability to rework remembered phrases into their own verse, but all proved less adventurous in their choice of models, preferring a handful of poets where Aldhelm copies dozens. Nor is his a purely passive poetry, based on others' words; Aldhelm takes a phrase and shapes it to his own characteristic patterns, continually reworking and refining the words until he makes them his own. When later authors, in a far more static fashion, simply parrot his poetry, they borrow alike the undiluted words of Aldhelm's predecessors and his own fresh coinages. It is his role as a mediator of a range of verse unavailable to later poets which is so important here, and it is a mark of his genius that he transformed almost everything he transmitted. So, for example, Aldhelm acknowledged his debt to Symphosius as a model for his own *Enigmata*, but adapted the form to suit his own purpose to such an extent that he can be said virtually to have redefined the genre for all later Anglo-Latin poets. Certainly Boniface, Tatwine, Eusebius, and all later authors of *Enigmata* owe more to Aldhelm than to his model.

But if Aldhelm is the most-imitated Anglo-Latin poet, he remains the most idiosyncratic. No other author was affected by the same nexus of influences, and no other proved such an effective and intelligent channel for blending disparate features of different cultures. In Aldhelm's verse various elements meet: Classical and Christian, English and Irish, literate and oral, and all combine in what is above all a flexible form. One has the impression

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with Aldhelm's verse that he was the complete master of his medium, and could produce Latin poetry with an ease not shared by other Anglo-Saxons. It is this fluidity of language within a highly rigid and static structure which is the key to Aldhelm's success, for it makes his verse highly memorable.

Towards the end of the period of Aldhelm's influence on Anglo-Latin, in tenth-century Canterbury, an anonymous poet penned a tribute to Aldhelm and prefixed it to a copy of his prose *De virginitate*. The poem survives by chance in this single manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 326 (s. x²), and is composed in a difficult blend of Old English, Latin, and even Greek.¹⁰⁴ The poem reads as follows:

Pus me gesette	sanctus et iustus	
beorn boca gleaw	bonus auctor	
Ealdhelm, æþele sceop,	etiam fuit	
ipselos on æðele	Angolsexna,	
byscop on Bretene.	Biblos ic nu sceal,	5
ponus et pondus	pleno cum sensu,	
geonges geanoðe	geomres iamiamque,	
secgan soð, nalles leas,	þæt him symle wæs	
euthenia	oftor on fylste,	
æne on eðle	ec ðon ðe se is	10
yfel on gesæd.	Etiam nusquam	
ne sceal ladigan	labor quem tenet	
encratea,	ac he ealneg sceal	
boethia	biddan georne	
þurh his modes gemind	micro in cosmo	15
þæt him drihten gyfe	dinams on eorðan	
fortis factor,	þæt he forð simle . . .	¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', p. 83. Cf. Robinson, "'The Rewards of Piety'", p. 196.

¹⁰⁵ 'Thus the just and saintly fine author, a man skilled in books, the noble poet Aldhelm, composed me, who was also eminent in the land of the Anglo-Saxons, a bishop among the Britons. Now, as a book, a work of weight, I must tell the truth without falsehood, in its full sense, with a sad youth's complaint, that in his support he always had prosperity and fame in his homeland, more often than that he was badly spoken of. Never indeed must mastery excuse the one whom work occupies, but ever he must eagerly ask for aid in his mind's thoughts in the little world, that the Lord, the mighty maker, grant him power, so that ever after . . .' The text is clearly corrupt (and unfinished); the translation here is modelled on the partial version by C. L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London, 1967), pp. 58–9, supplemented by the Latin

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This is hardly a stirring work; Dobbie describes the poem as ‘simply an exercise in linguistic and metrical ingenuity’,¹⁰⁶ yet, as Lapidge notes, ‘it has a stylistic flavour quite unlike that of any other surviving Old English poem’.¹⁰⁷ In the attempt to combine elements of Greek and Latin within the framework of vernacular verse the poet comes close to the spirit of Aldhelm’s poetic endeavours; that this poem lacks the flair of all of Aldhelm’s verse is only further testimony to his genius. But these vernacular verses may well stand in homage to the poetic art of Aldhelm, an Anglo-Saxon who was certainly *beorn boca gleaw* (a poetic formula used elsewhere of Boethius),¹⁰⁸ and still managed to be both *bonus auctor* and *æþele sceop*.

version offered by Ehwald, *Opera*, p. 220, and the most recent English translation by Robinson, “‘The Rewards of Piety’”, p. 197.

¹⁰⁶ ASPR VI, xcii.

¹⁰⁷ Lapidge, ‘The Hermeneutic Style’, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸ *Metres* I.52; cf. also *Vainglory* 4.

Appendix 5.1

Parallel diction in Aldhelm's Anglo-Latin heirs

		BONIFACE		G III	3	<i>CdV</i> 2
		<i>Enigmata</i>				<i>CdV</i> 1445
						<i>CdV</i> 2816
	P	3	<i>CdV</i> 342			<i>E</i> C.3
		5	<i>CE</i> III.63	G IV	1	<i>E</i> XXIII.1
G		7	<i>CdV</i> 239			<i>E</i> XLIX.4
			<i>CdV</i> 2541		11	<i>CdV</i> 1669
			<i>E</i> C.31		12	<i>CdV</i> 2
		8	<i>E</i> C.16			<i>CdV</i> 1445
G		15	<i>CdV</i> 2575			<i>CdV</i> 2816
		18	<i>CdV</i> 2795			<i>E</i> C.3
		20	<i>CdV</i> 2005		14	<i>E</i> XXIII.4
G I		1	<i>E</i> II.1	V	1	<i>CdV</i> 855
G		4	<i>E</i> II.4			<i>E</i> LIV.1
G		8	<i>E</i> P.34		2	<i>E</i> P.24
		9	<i>CdV</i> 1811		4	<i>CdV</i> 2005
G		10	<i>CdV</i> 2273	G	5	<i>E</i> LXIV.3
			<i>E</i> XXXVII.5		8	<i>CdV</i> 759
	II	11	<i>E</i> P.24			<i>CdV</i> 2072
		12	<i>CdV</i> 2005		9	<i>CdV</i> 99
		13	<i>CdV</i> 555			<i>CdV</i> 806
G		14	<i>CE</i> III.31			<i>CdV</i> 1713
			<i>CdV</i> 755	G	12	<i>CdV</i> 2826
			<i>CdV</i> 2160			<i>CdV</i> 2871

References on the left of the column are to the work cited; references on the right of the column are to the texts of Aldhelm's poems. This list is provided to augment the material presented in the course of the preceding chapter, and omits, for example, a detailed analysis of Alcuin's many verbal debts to Aldhelm, which belong more properly in a study of Aldhelm's extensive influence on Carolingian verse. I have such a study in preparation.

Appendix 5.1

		13	<i>CdV</i> 2745				<i>CdV</i> 959
		14	<i>CdV</i> 2885				<i>CdV</i> 1404
G		15	<i>CdV</i> 615	G		11	<i>E</i> LXXXVI.6
			<i>CdV</i> 2874	G	XII	2	<i>CdV</i> 1328
			<i>E</i> P.1				<i>CdV</i> 1545
	VI	9	<i>CdV</i> 2163	G		5	<i>E</i> II.3
G	VII	10	<i>E</i> XX.3	G		10	<i>CdV</i> 1327
			<i>E</i> LXIV.3	G		14	<i>E</i> XLI.1
	VIII	1	<i>E</i> XXIII.4	G		17	<i>CdV</i> 537
G		4	<i>CdV</i> 247	G	XIII	2	<i>E</i> LXIX.4
			<i>CdV</i> 394	G		3	<i>CdV</i> 2726
		8	<i>CdV</i> 2	G		5	<i>E</i> XCVI.6
			<i>CdV</i> 1445	G		6	<i>CdV</i> 849
			<i>CdV</i> 2816	G		8	<i>CdV</i> 157
			<i>E</i> C.3				<i>E</i> XXI.3
		14	<i>CdV</i> 1555	G		9	<i>E</i> XI.1
G		17	<i>CdV</i> 2693	G		13	<i>E</i> LXVII.6
G	IX	2	<i>E</i> XLIV.8			16	<i>E</i> V.1
		8	<i>CdV</i> 873	G		17	<i>CE</i> IV.i.17
		9	<i>E</i> LXVI.1				<i>CdV</i> 308
G		15	<i>CdV</i> 2740				<i>E</i> LXX.3
			<i>E</i> XCIII.2			20	<i>CdV</i> 855
		22	<i>CdV</i> 2158	G		33	<i>E</i> XIX.3
G	X	5	<i>CE</i> V.9	G		45	<i>CE</i> IV.v.9
G		7	<i>CdV</i> 1713				<i>CdV</i> 1393
G		9	<i>CE</i> IV.ix.12				<i>CdV</i> 1587
			<i>CdV</i> 1121				<i>CdV</i> 2287
			<i>CdV</i> 1444				<i>E</i> C.12
			<i>CdV</i> 1766	G		50	<i>CdV</i> P.3
			<i>CdV</i> 2341				<i>E</i> XCI.1
		11	<i>CdV</i> 188				<i>E</i> C.1
		12	<i>CdV</i> 2902			53	<i>CdV</i> 316
G		14	<i>CdV</i> 157				<i>CdV</i> 585
			<i>E</i> XI.3				<i>CdV</i> 1007
			<i>E</i> XCVI.11				<i>CdV</i> 1639
G		18	<i>CdV</i> 1226				<i>CdV</i> 2247
G		20	<i>E</i> LXIII.4				<i>E</i> LXVI.7
G	XI	4	<i>CE</i> III.68	G		55	<i>CdV</i> 239
			<i>CE</i> IV.viii.9				<i>CdV</i> 2541
			<i>CdV</i> 181				<i>E</i> C.31
			<i>CdV</i> 775	G		62	<i>CdV</i> 2552

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G		65	<i>CdV</i> 2585	G		10	<i>CdV</i> 1328
G		66	<i>E</i> LXXVI.6				<i>CdV</i> 1545
G	XIV	1	<i>CdV</i> 2	G	XIX	8	<i>CdV</i> 2902
			<i>CdV</i> 1445	G	XX	3	<i>E</i> XXXI.2
			<i>CdV</i> 2816			4	<i>CdV</i> 160
			<i>E</i> C.3				<i>CdV</i> 609
G		4	<i>CdV</i> 849	G		6	<i>CdV</i> 1226
			<i>E</i> LXXIX.11				<i>CdV</i> 2275
G		6	<i>CdV</i> 2708				<i>E</i> XCI.5
G		9	<i>CdV</i> 316	G		8	<i>E</i> LX.5
			<i>CdV</i> 585			10	<i>E</i> XX.3
			<i>CdV</i> 1007			15	<i>CdV</i> 752
			<i>CdV</i> 1639				<i>CdV</i> 2688
			<i>CdV</i> 2247				<i>E</i> XCVI. 8
			<i>E</i> LXVI.7	G		19	<i>CdV</i> 777
G	XV	4	<i>CdV</i> 156				
		11	<i>E</i> XX.3				
G	XVI	1	<i>E</i> XLIII.3				
G		11	<i>CdV</i> 1753				
			<i>CdV</i> 1991				
			<i>E</i> XXVII.5	G	I	4	<i>E</i> C.35
G		12	<i>CdV</i> 2	G		5	<i>E</i> XXVI.2
			<i>CdV</i> 1445				<i>E</i> C.53
			<i>CdV</i> 2816				<i>E</i> C.67
			<i>E</i> C.3	G	II	5	<i>E</i> II.1
G	XVII	1	<i>E</i> C.53		III	3	<i>CdV</i> 337
G		2	<i>CdV</i> 2691	G	IV	2	<i>E</i> XLIII.3
			<i>E</i> C.31				<i>E</i> LXXX.8
G		3	<i>CdV</i> 1093			5	<i>E</i> LXIII.10
G		7	<i>CdV</i> 2		VI	3	<i>E</i> XVII.4
			<i>CdV</i> 1445		XI	1	<i>CdV</i> 1384
			<i>E</i> LIX.8	G	XVII	4	<i>E</i> XII.3
			<i>E</i> C.3				<i>E</i> XXXVI.2
		8	<i>E</i> XI.3				<i>E</i> LXXI.5
G		10	<i>CE</i> IV.ii.14	G		5	<i>CdV</i> 1377
			<i>CdV</i> 699				<i>E</i> LX.1
G		11	<i>CdV</i> 2693	G	XXIV	5	<i>E</i> C.21
		15	<i>CdV</i> 2519				<i>E</i> C.22
G	XVIII	6	<i>CdV</i> 579		XXV	5	<i>CdV</i> 2493
			<i>CdV</i> 928	G	XXXI	2	<i>CdV</i> 311
			<i>E</i> LXXXIX.4				<i>E</i> XXVII.1

TATWINE

Enigmata

Appendix 5.1

			<i>E XXXIII.</i> 1	BEDE	
			<i>E XLIV.</i> 1		
			3 <i>CdV</i> 269		
			XXXII 2 <i>E XCIII.</i> 4	<i>De die iudicii</i>	
G	XXXIV	1	<i>CdV</i> 1384	1	<i>E LI.</i> 1
			<i>E XIII.</i> 3	51	<i>CE IV.</i> xi. 8
			<i>E LXXXIX.</i> 1	53	<i>E C.</i> 55
			<i>E C.</i> 42	58	<i>CE IV.</i> ii. 36
G		2	<i>CdV</i> 1818	65	<i>CdV</i> 2165
			<i>E XXXVI.</i> 1	75	<i>CdV</i> 382
			<i>E LXVI.</i> 5	89	<i>CdV</i> 2226
G		3	<i>CdV</i> 2628		<i>E LXVI.</i> 5
			<i>E XCVI.</i> 3	103	<i>CdV</i> 1401
G	XXXIX	1	<i>E XXVII.</i> 1	105	<i>E I.</i> 3
			<i>E XXXIII.</i> 1	117	<i>CdV</i> 946
			2 <i>CdV</i> 2097	123	<i>CdV</i> 1852
				136	<i>CdV</i> 2887
EUSEBIUS				143	<i>CE III.</i> 15
<i>Enigmata</i>					<i>CdV</i> 1502
				147	<i>CdV</i> 1878
G	II	3	<i>E XC.</i> 3		
	III	4	<i>CdV P.</i> 4		
	XXX	2	<i>E XXVI.</i> 2	<i>Vita metrica S. Cuthberti</i>	
	XXXIV	6	<i>E LXIII.</i> 10	1	<i>E P.</i> 24
	XXXVIII	4	<i>CdV</i> 311	J	20 <i>CdV</i> 761
	XL	4	<i>CdV</i> 2882	J	42 <i>CdV</i> 116
	XLIII	4	<i>E LXXX.</i> 5		73 <i>E LXXII.</i> 5
	XLVIII	1	<i>E LXVI.</i> 1	M	96 <i>CdV</i> 31
	LIII	10	<i>E XXXV.</i> 6		<i>CdV</i> 2814
		13	<i>E XXXIX.</i> 1		123 <i>CdV</i> 123
	LIV	2	<i>E XCII.</i> 7		<i>CdV</i> 1145
		6	<i>E XXXVII.</i> 1		171 <i>CdV</i> 2446
	LV	2	<i>E LVIII.</i> 1		185 <i>E I.</i> 4
		3	<i>E XXXV.</i> 4		221 <i>CdV</i> 2291
			<i>E LXXXII.</i> 6		237 <i>E LVIII.</i> 7
		8	<i>E XCIX.</i> 7		258 <i>CdV</i> 119
G	LVI	2	<i>E XXXI.</i> 3		<i>CdV</i> 2824
	LVII	1	<i>E L.</i> 3		265 <i>CdV</i> 31
G	LVIII	2	<i>E XXVI.</i> 2		<i>CdV</i> 2814
			<i>E LVII.</i> 8		<i>CdV</i> 2821
			6 <i>E XLIX.</i> 4		<i>E LV.</i> 2

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M	285	E XCII.4		122	CdV 1731
	378	E LIX.6		126	CdV 1281
	503	E P.24		132	E LXXXI.3
	512	CE IV.vi.19		143	CE II.2
		CdV 1173			CdV 562
		CdV 1588		146	CE IV.vii.3
		CdV 2059		148	CdV 1981
	517	CdV 722		157	CdV 591
	531	CdV 319			CdV 1603
	644	CdV 2005		191	CdV 2826
	648	CE IV.viii.5		196	E XV.1
	687	CdV 1767		198	E 65 2
	712	E LXI.4		200	CdV 2517
	746	CdV 1627		208	CdV 799
	849	CdV 2000		227	E XXVII.1
	927	CdV 794		232	E XXVII.1
	928	CE III.46		237	CE III.43
		AEDILUULF		244	CE IV.viii.5
		<i>De abbatibus</i>		253	CdV 1446
C	3	CE III.14		258	CdV 1190
		CE IV.iv.14		259	E XCIII.1
C	5	CdV 182		264	CE II.2
		CdV 317			CdV 562
	9	E P.35		272	CE III.65
	25	CdV 591		309	CdV 933
		CdV 1603		325	CdV 1620
	42	CdV 151		338	CdV P.4
	43	CdV 2740		361	CdV 916
	64	E P.35			CdV 1030
C	78	CE III.13		365	CdV 2360
	92	CdV 1840		373	CdV 1949
		CdV 2761			CdV 2321
	93	CdV 298	C	391	E XLVII.8
C		CdV 898		397	CdV 94
	105	CdV 1620		441	CE IV.vii.10
	110	CE III.7		449	CE III.72
	116	CE IV.i.5	C	450	CE III.74
	121	CdV 2026	C		E LXI.3
				451	CE II.4
				460	CE III.60
				465	CE III.59

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C	467	CE III.63		685	CE IV.iv.6
		E P. 15		686	CdV 2170
	468	CE III.64			CdV 2744
		CdV 906		689	CdV 203
	495	CdV 2412		712	CdV 2369
C	496	CE III.47		721	CE II.2
		CE III.53			CdV 562
	497	CE III.47		731	CdV 1281
	498	E XXII.2		736	CdV 1975
	499	CE III.48		741	E LIV.3
C	502	CE III.50		762	CE III.81
	503	CdV 28			CE IV.xiii.3
C	505	CE III.27		763	CE III.65
	506	CE III.49		768	CdV 1731
	520	CE IV.ii.16			CdV 2171
	552	CdV 991			
		CdV P. 19			
	553	E LXV.2			
			ANON.		
C	554	CE III.52			
	564	CE IV.vii.10	<i>Miracula S. Nyniae episcopi</i>		
	566	CE IV.i.23	S	1	E X.1
	578	CE III.16	S	6	CdV 898
	584	CdV 1864	S	10	CdV 879
	594	CdV 1864			E P. 19
	599	CdV 1710		16	E P. 24
C	609	CE III.27	S	19	CE II.21
	610	CdV 148			CdV 1699
	615	CE III.43	S	20	CdV 2903
	617	CE III.57	S	21	CE IV.iv.9
C	621	CE III.67			CdV 798
	622	CE III.68	S	22	CE IV.iii.12
C	625	CE III.73			CE IV.viii.14
	626	CE III.53			CdV 2393
C	632	CE III.68	S	23	CE IV.iii.12
	635	CE IV.vi.7			CE IV.vi.8
	636	CdV 1627			CdV 1531
	645	CdV P.4			CdV 2393
	649	CE III.72			E XLI.2
C	650	CE III.74	S	24	CE IV.i.6
C	653	CE III.75	S	25	CE IV.i.9
	676	E XCVI.7		26	CdV 743

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		<i>E</i> LXXIII.6	S	155	<i>CE</i> IV.xii.11
S	30	<i>CE</i> IV.iii.5			<i>E</i> P.19
		<i>CdV</i> 5		156	<i>CE</i> IV.x.8
		<i>CdV</i> 423		157	<i>CE</i> IV.x.12
		<i>E</i> XXXVII.2		158	<i>CdV</i> 1221
		<i>E</i> LXXIII.7		165	<i>E</i> XCVI.7
S	32	<i>CE</i> III.22		167	<i>CdV</i> 1806
	33	<i>CE</i> III.23	S	179	<i>CE</i> IV.vii.28
S	35	<i>CE</i> III.24			<i>E</i> XLIV.6
	37	<i>CE</i> III.25	S	185	<i>CE</i> IV.i.36
S	38	<i>CE</i> III.8			<i>E</i> X.1
S	40	<i>CdV</i> 55	S	188	<i>CE</i> IV.iv.9
S	41	<i>CE</i> V.6			<i>CdV</i> 543
		<i>CE</i> V.13			<i>CdV</i> 798
		<i>CdV</i> 485			<i>CdV</i> 1455
	42	<i>CE</i> III.26		197	<i>E</i> L.2
S	45	<i>E</i> C.3		209	<i>CdV</i> 355
S	47	<i>CE</i> IV.i.35		210	<i>CdV</i> 355
S	50	<i>CE</i> III.14			<i>CdV</i> 1190
	60	<i>CdV</i> 2626		221	<i>CdV</i> 1527
	63	<i>CdV</i> 45			<i>CdV</i> 2013
S	66	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.5		252	<i>CdV</i> 2424
		<i>CE</i> IV.viii.13			<i>E</i> XXIV.4
		<i>CE</i> IV.ix.3	S	268	<i>CdV</i> 2
	69	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.11			<i>CdV</i> 1445
S	72	<i>CE</i> III.6			<i>CdV</i> 2816
	74	<i>CE</i> III.7	S	269	<i>CdV</i> 1361
S	75	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.16	S	272	<i>CdV</i> 182
		<i>CE</i> IV.xi.3			<i>CdV</i> 709
S	76	<i>CE</i> IV.vi.24			<i>CdV</i> 2273
S	82	<i>CE</i> IV.xii.8		278	<i>CE</i> IV.xiii.6
S	83	<i>CE</i> IV.xii.15		281	<i>CE</i> IV.v.19
	89	<i>CE</i> IV.iv.13	S	293	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.5
	97	<i>CdV</i> 267			<i>E</i> LXIX.1
		<i>CdV</i> 969	S	296	<i>CdV</i> 953
		<i>CdV</i> 2876			<i>CdV</i> 2759
	98	<i>E</i> P.19		298	<i>CdV</i> 1907
	107	<i>E</i> P.3		300	<i>CE</i> II.12
	134	<i>CdV</i> 1690			<i>CE</i> IV.xiii.3
	143	<i>CdV</i> 1830			<i>CdV</i> 2414
S	146	<i>E</i> XXIV.2		302	<i>E</i> LIII.4

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S	304	<i>CdV</i> 108	XIII	1	<i>CdV</i> 2424
		<i>CdV</i> 1197			<i>E</i> XXIV.4
		<i>CdV</i> 1368	XV	1–2	<i>CE</i> IV.v.17
		<i>E</i> LXXIX.5			<i>CE</i> II.2
S	306	<i>CdV</i> 1190			<i>CdV</i> 562
	315	<i>CdV</i> 1830	XVI	1	<i>CE</i> IV.i.35
	324	<i>E</i> XXVIII.5	XVII	1	<i>CdV</i> P.33
	326	<i>CE</i> IV.v.17	XXIV	1–2	<i>E</i> P.35
S	327	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.17			<i>CdV</i> 591
S	336	<i>CdV</i> 557	XXVI	1–2	<i>CE</i> III.43
	343	<i>CE</i> I.15			<i>CdV</i> 722
S	352	<i>CdV</i> 958			
	358	<i>CE</i> I.15			
	360	<i>CdV</i> 2393			
	365	<i>CdV</i> 203			
S	375	<i>CdV</i> 831			
	376	<i>CdV</i> 31		12	<i>E</i> LXXIX.5
	380	<i>CdV</i> 1190	C	13	<i>CdV</i> 1916
	387	<i>CE</i> III.65		22	<i>CdV</i> 250
	398	<i>CdV</i> 1030			<i>CdV</i> 712
	400	<i>CdV</i> 1392	C	72	<i>CdV</i> 946
	405	<i>CE</i> II.11			<i>CdV</i> 1145
		<i>CdV</i> 8		111	<i>CdV</i> 1682
S	420	<i>CdV</i> P.11			<i>CdV</i> 2123
	423	<i>CdV</i> 94		172	<i>CdV</i> 1510
	424	<i>CE</i> II.7	C	226	<i>CdV</i> 2517
S	436	<i>CdV</i> 792		262	<i>CdV</i> 206
	440	<i>CdV</i> 1159		390	<i>E</i> LXV.8
		<i>CdV</i> 1160	C	473	<i>CdV</i> 1132
		<i>CdV</i> 2137			<i>CdV</i> 1296
				506	<i>CdV</i> 2727
					<i>E</i> LXXV.2
				547	<i>CdV</i> 1609
S	I	1–2		567	<i>E</i> I.4
S	II	1		569	<i>CE</i> IV.viii.8
	III	1	C	612	<i>CdV</i> 1328
	VI	1–2			<i>CdV</i> 1545
	VII	1–2		678	<i>CdV</i> 869
			C	787	<i>CdV</i> 1759
	VIII	1			<i>CdV</i> 1832
	XII	1			<i>E</i> IX.1

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	846	E C.5		70	<i>CdV</i> 2236
	886	<i>CdV</i> 1759		81	<i>CdV</i> 2166
		<i>CdV</i> 1832		105	<i>CdV</i> 681
		E IX.1		143	<i>CdV</i> 2108
	893	<i>CdV</i> 1481		198	<i>CdV</i> 394
	931	<i>CdV</i> 2827		338	<i>CdV</i> 624
C	989	<i>CdV</i> 1650		392	E IV.4
	1133	E LII.1		430	E XIV.1
C	1145	<i>CdV</i> 428		489	<i>CdV</i> 2005
	1260	<i>CdV</i> 946			<i>CdV</i> 2008
	1264	CE III.23		668	<i>CdV</i> 1776
C	1343	<i>CdV</i> 158		790	<i>CdV</i> 542
		<i>CdV</i> 1689	C	898	<i>CdV</i> 31
		E C.78			<i>CdV</i> 1271
					<i>CdV</i> 1524
				944	<i>CdV</i> 2369
WULFSTAN OF WINCHESTER				970	CE III.26
				1033	<i>CdV</i> 731
		<i>Vita metrica S. Swithuni</i>		1117	<i>CdV</i> 860
ES	111	CE IV.x.16		1119	<i>CdV</i> 2478
		<i>CdV</i> 396		1178	<i>CdV</i> 2134
	145	E XI.1		1252	<i>CdV</i> 89
	173	<i>CdV</i> 1324		1370	<i>CdV</i> 1198
	183	<i>CdV</i> 207	C	1386	CE IV.xii.7
		E C.25		1547	<i>CdV</i> 1001
	251	<i>CdV</i> 2236			
	316	<i>CdV</i> 1592	II	90	CE III.26
	418	<i>CdV</i> 490		99	<i>CdV</i> 484
	440	<i>CdV</i> 1763		640	CE IV.vi.7
	493	CE IV.vi.19		775	CE IV.i.31
	522	E XCVI.1		821	<i>CdV</i> 2173
	540	<i>CdV</i> 1432		953	<i>CdV</i> 1288
	564	<i>CdV</i> 2005		996	<i>CdV</i> 2236
				1097	<i>CdV</i> 1449
I	10	CE IV.vii.11		1168	CE III.50
		<i>CdV</i> 1146		1173	E LIII.7
	40	<i>CdV</i> 2609			

Appendix 5.2

A statistical survey of Anglo-Latin verse

Table A1. *Dactylic rhythm in some Anglo-Latin hexameters*
(first four feet only)

Poet/Poem	No. of verses	No. of dactyls	Dactyls per hundred lines
Bede	500	1035	207.00
Wulfstan	500	1030	206.00
Eusebius	282	556	197.16
Alcuin	500	931	186.20
Aediluulf	796	1397	181.66
<i>MNE</i>	504	902	178.97
Tatwine	213	318	149.30
Boniface	388	563	145.10
Aldhelm	4170	5712	136.98

All the figures in this Appendix are based on my own analysis of whole texts or samples from each of the Anglo-Latin poets discussed as follows:

Aldhelm: complete hexameter corpus, *Opera* (Tables A1–A4 and A7 (i)); *CdV* 1–500 (Tables A5–A6)

Bede: metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ed. Jaager (Table A4); *VC* 1–500 (Tables A1–A3, A5–A6 and A7 (d))

Boniface: Enigmata, ed. Glorie, CCSL 133, pp. 273–343 (Tables A1–A6 and A7 (a))

Tatwine: Enigmata, ed. Glorie, CCSL 133, pp. 165–208 (Tables A1–A6 and A7 (b))

Eusebius: Enigmata, ed. Glorie, CCSL 133, pp. 209–71 (Tables A1–A6 and A7 (c))

Alcuin: Versus de ... Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae (VE), in *Alcuin*, ed. Godman (Table A4); *VE* 1–500 (Tables A1–A3, A5–A6 and A7 (e))

Miracula Nynie episcopi: ed. Strecker, MGH PLAC 4.3, 943–62 (Tables A1–A6 and A7 (f))

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Table A2. *Percentage distribution of dactyls in some Anglo-Latin hexameters*
(first four feet only)

Poet/Poem	D1	D2	D3	D4
Bede	67.00	54.80	39.60	36.00
Wulfstan	66.40	51.00	48.80	39.00
Eusebius	74.11	58.51	29.43	35.11
Alcuin	71.60	56.20	30.80	27.60
Aediluulf	74.50	53.14	36.36	17.46
MNE	69.64	52.98	33.33	23.02
Tarwine	53.52	38.50	29.58	27.70
Boniface	60.82	39.18	27.84	17.27
Aldhelm	65.11	43.14	17.55	9.93

Table A3. *Percentage distribution of fixed metrical patterning in some*
Anglo-Latin hexameters (first four feet **SS)

Poet/Poem	No. of verses	No. of fixed pattern	% of fixed pattern
Wulfstan	500	147	29.40
Bede	500	176	35.20
Eusebius	282	131	46.45
Tarwine	213	102	47.89
Alcuin	500	242	48.40
MNE	504	257	51.00
Aediluulf	796	420	52.76
Boniface	388	234	60.31
Aldhelm	4170	3102	74.39

Aediluulf: *De Abbatibus*, ed. Campbell (Tables A1–A4 and A7 (g)); DA 1–500 (Tables A5–A6)

Wulfstan: *Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno I*, ed. Campbell (Table A4); NM I.1–500 (Tables A1–A3, A5–A6 and A7 (h))

Appendix 5.2

Table A4. *Elision in some Anglo-Latin hexameters*

Poet/ Poem	No. of verses	No. of elisions	% of elisions	No. of exx. of hiatus
Tatwine	213	94	44.13	–
Boniface	388	88	22.68	17
Bede	979	209	21.35	–
Eusebius	282	46	16.31	4
Wulfstan	1621	248	15.30	–
<i>MNE</i>	504	73	14.48	3
Aediluulf	796	111	13.94	–
Alcuin	1658	223	13.45	–
Aldhelm	4170	160	3.84	5

Table A5. *Alliteration in some Anglo-Latin hexameters*

Poet/Poem	No. of verses	No. of alliterating cadences	% of alliterating cadences
Wulfstan	500	8	1.60
<i>MNE</i>	504	15	2.97
Bede	500	16	3.20
Alcuin	500	16	3.20
Aediluulf	500	15	3.00
Eusebius	282	11	3.90
Tatwine	213	11	5.16
Boniface	388	32	8.25
Aldhelm	500	47	9.40

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Table A6. *Distribution of medial finite verbs in some Anglo-Latin Hexameters*

Poet/ Poem	No. of verses	No. of medial finite verbs (molossi)	% of medial finite verbs (molossi)
Wulfstan	500	4	0.80
Tatwine	213	2	0.94
Alcuin	500	9	1.80
Bede	500	11	2.20
Eusebius	282	10	3.55
Aediluulf	500	25	5.00
MNE	504	32	6.34
Boniface	388	29	7.47
Aldhelm	500	83	16.60

Table A7. *Distribution of metrical verse-types in some Anglo-Latin hexameters*

(a) Boniface			(b) Tatwine		
Type	No.	%	Type	No.	%
DSSS	90	23.20	DSSS	37	17.37
DDSS	60	15.46	SSSS	25	11.74
SSSS	48	12.37	DSS	21	9.86
SDSS	36	9.28	SDSS	19	8.92
SSDS	30	7.73	DSDS	17	7.98
DSDS	25	6.44	DSSD	17	7.98
DSSD	20	5.15	SSSD	15	7.04
DDDS	18	4.64	SSDS	15	7.04
SDDS	14	3.61	SDDS	13	6.10
DDSD	11	2.84	DDSD	10	4.69
DSDD	9	2.32	DDDS	7	3.29
SSSD	9	2.32	SDSD	6	2.82
SDSD	6	1.55	SSDD	3	1.41
SSDD	5	1.29	DDDD	3	1.41
SDDD	4	1.03	SDDD	3	1.41
DDDD	3	0.77	DSDD	2	0.94
TOTAL	388	100.00		213	100.00

Appendix 5.2

Table A7. *continued*

(c) Eusebius			(d) Bede		
Type	No.	%	Type	No.	%
DDSS	60	21.28	DDSS	76	15.20
DSSS	41	14.54	DSSS	55	11.00
DDSD	32	11.35	DSDS	54	10.80
DSDS	24	8.51	DDSD	53	10.60
SDSS	23	8.16	DSSD	44	8.80
DSDD	18	6.38	DDDS	40	8.00
SDSD	18	6.38	SDSS	34	6.80
DDDS	17	6.03	DDDD	27	5.40
DSSD	16	5.67	DSDD	22	4.40
SDDS	8	2.84	SSDS	21	4.20
SSSS	7	2.48	SDDS	17	3.40
SDDD	6	2.13	SDSD	17	3.40
SSDD	6	2.13	SSSD	12	2.40
SSDS	3	1.06	SSSS	11	2.20
SSSD	2	0.71	SDDD	10	2.00
DDDD	1	0.35	SSDD	7	1.40
TOTAL	282	100.00		500	100.00

(e) Alcuin			(f) <i>Miracula Nynie episcopi</i>		
Type	No.	%	Type	No.	%
DSSS	94	18.80	DDSS	100	19.84
DDSS	82	16.40	DSSS	76	15.08
SDSS	55	11.00	DSDS	49	9.72
DSDS	49	9.80	SDSS	45	8.93
DDSD	46	9.20	DDDS	45	8.93
DDDS	33	6.60	SSSS	34	6.75
DSSD	32	6.40	DSDD	30	5.95
SDDS	25	5.00	DDSD	25	4.96
SDSD	19	3.80	SDDS	22	4.37
SSDS	13	2.60	SSDS	17	3.37
DDDD	13	2.60	SSSD	14	2.78
SSSS	11	2.20	DDDD	13	2.58
DSDD	9	1.80	DSDD	13	2.58
SDDD	8	1.60	SDSD	12	2.38
SSSD	7	1.40	SDDD	5	0.99
SSDD	4	0.80	SSDD	4	0.79
TOTAL	500	100.00		504	100.00

The poetic art of Aldhelm

Table A7. *continued*

(g) Aediluulf			(h) Wulfstan		
Type	No.	%	Type	No.	%
DDSS	169	21.23	DSDS	63	12.60
DSSS	145	18.22	DDSS	53	10.60
DDDS	99	12.44	DSSS	43	8.60
DSDS	82	10.30	DSSD	40	8.00
SDSS	60	7.54	SDSS	39	7.80
SSSS	46	5.78	DDDS	38	7.60
DDSD	34	4.27	DSDD	34	6.80
SSDS	31	3.89	DDSD	33	6.60
DSSD	27	3.39	SSDS	31	6.20
SDDS	25	3.14	DDDD	28	5.60
DSDD	22	2.76	SDDS	26	5.20
DDDD	15	1.88	SDSD	26	5.20
SDSD	14	1.76	SSSS	12	2.40
SSDD	10	1.26	SDDD	12	2.40
SSSD	10	1.26	SSDD	12	2.40
SDDD	7	0.88	SSSD	10	2.00
TOTAL	796	100.00		500	100.00

(i) Aldhelm		
Type	No.	%
DSSS	1232	29.54
DDSS	793	19.02
SDSS	547	13.12
SSSS	530	12.71
DSDS	243	5.83
DDDS	144	3.45
DSSD	137	3.29
SDDS	111	2.66
SSDS	104	2.49
DDSD	75	1.80
SDSD	68	1.63
SSSD	56	1.34
DSDD	49	1.18
DDDD	42	1.01
SSDD	20	0.48
SDDD	19	0.46
TOTAL	4170	100.01

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